

SPEAKERS
of the
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
OF THE UNITED STATES

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Speakers of the
House of Represen-

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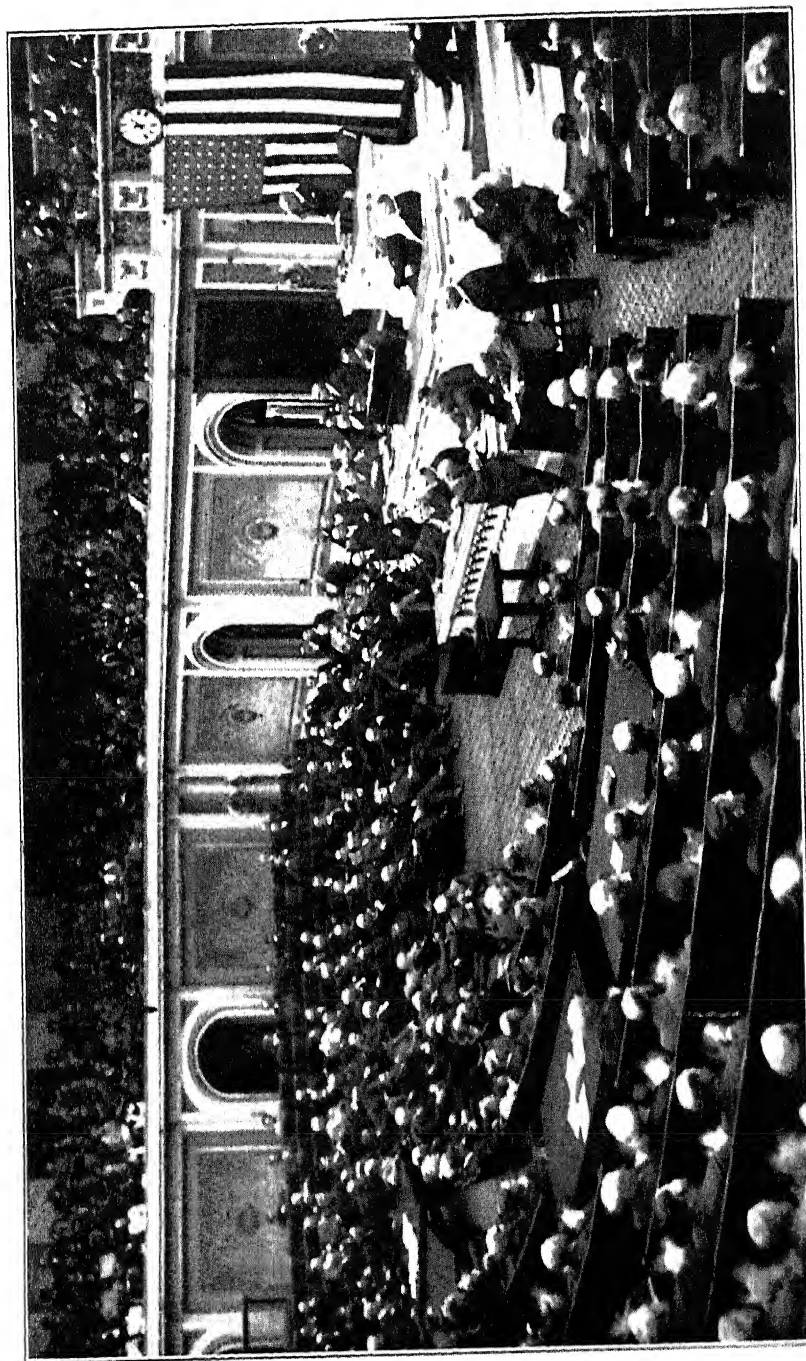
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APRIL 1927

THE OPENING OF THE SEVENTIETH SESSION OF CONGRESS

A general view of the House of Representatives at the opening session of the Seventieth Congress at noon today (December 5, 1927).

SPEAKERS
OF THE
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
OF THE UNITED STATES

WITH
PERSONAL SKETCHES OF THE SEVERAL SPEAKERS

WITH PORTRAITS

BY

WILLIAM HENRY SMITH

*Author of "History of Indiana," "History of the Cabinet of the United States
from President Washington to President Coolidge"*

BALTIMORE, MD., U. S. A.

SIMON J. GAENG

1928

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DEDICATION

TO CHARLES C. GLOVER, THE EMINENT BANKER AND PHILANTHROPIST,
IN RECOGNITION OF HIS MANY YEARS OF SERVICE TO MAKE
WASHINGTON THE MOST BEAUTIFUL CITY IN THE WORLD,
THIS BOOK IS DEDICATED

BY THE AUTHOR.

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BELL, JOHN

BLAINE, JAMES G.

BOYD, LINN

CANNON, JOSEPH G.

CARLISLE, JOHN G.

CHEVES, LANGDON

CLARK, CHAMP

CLAY, HENRY

COBB, HOWELL

COLFAX, SCHUYLER

COX, SAMUEL S.

CRISP, CHARLES F.

DAVIS, JOHN W.

DAYTON, JONATHAN

GILLETTE, FREDERICK H.

GROW, GALUSHA A.

HENDERSON, DAVID B.

HUNTER, R. M. T.

JONES, JOHN WINSTON

KEIFER, JOSEPH W.

KERR, MICHAEL C.

LONGWORTH, NICHOLAS

MACON, NATHANIEL

MUHLBERG, F. A. G.

ORR, JAMES L.

PENNINGTON, WILLIAM

POLK, JAMES K.

RANDALL, SAMUEL J.

REED, THOMAS B.

SEDGWICK, THEODORE

STEVENSON, ANDREW

TAYLOR, JOHN W.

TRUMBULL, JONATHAN

VARNUM, JOSEPH B.

WHITE, JOHN

WINTHROP, ROBERT C.

SESSIONS OF CONGRESS

Congress	Session	Date of beginning	Date of adjournment	Length in days	President pro tempore of the Senate ¹	Speaker of the House of Representatives
1st-----	1	Mar. 4, 1789	Sept. 20, 1789	210	John Langdon, ² of New Hampshire.	Frederick A. Muhlenberg, of Pennsylvania.
2d-----	2	Jan. 4, 1790	Aug. 12, 1790	221	-----	Jonathan Trumbull, of Connecticut.
	3	Dec. 6, 1790	Mar. 3, 1791	88	-----	
3d-----	1	Oct. 24, 1791	May 8, 1792	197	Richard Henry Lee, of Virginia.	Frederick A. Muhlenberg, of Pennsylvania.
	2	Nov. 5, 1792	Mar. 2, 1793	119	John Langdon, of New Hampshire.	
4th-----	1	Dec. 2, 1793	June 9, 1794	190	Ralph Izard, of South Carolina.	Jonathan Dayton, of New Jersey.
	2	Nov. 3, 1794	Mar. 3, 1795	121	Henry Tazewell, of Virginia.	
5th-----	1	Dec. 7, 1795	June 1, 1796	177	-----do-----	Do.
	2	Dec. 5, 1796	Mar. 3, 1797	89	Samuel Livermore, of New Hampshire.	
6th-----	1	May 15, 1797	July 10, 1797	57	William Bingham, of Pennsylvania.	George Dent, of Maryland.
	2	Nov. 18, 1797	July 16, 1798	246	William Bradford, of Rhode Island.	
7th-----	1	Dec. 3, 1798	Mar. 3, 1799	91	Jacob Read, of South Carolina.	Do.
	2	Dec. 3, 1798	Mar. 3, 1799	91	Theodore Sedgwick, of Massachusetts.	
8th-----	1	Dec. 2, 1799	May 14, 1800	164	John Laurence, of New York.	Theodore Sedgwick, of Massachusetts.
	2	Nov. 17, 1800	Mar. 3, 1801	107	James Ross, of Pennsylvania.	
9th-----	1	Dec. 7, 1801	May 3, 1802	148	Samuel Livermore, of New Hampshire.	Nathaniel Macon, of North Carolina.
	2	Dec. 6, 1802	Mar. 3, 1803	88	Uriah Tracy, of Connecticut.	
10th-----	1	Oct. 17, 1803	Mar. 27, 1804	163	John H. Howard, of Maryland.	Do.
	2	Nov. 5, 1804	Mar. 3, 1805	119	James Hillhouse, of Connecticut.	
11th-----	1	Dec. 2, 1805	Apr. 21, 1806	141	Abraham Baldwin, of Georgia.	Do.
	2	Dec. 1, 1806	Mar. 3, 1807	93	Stephen R. Bradley, of Vermont.	
12th-----	1	Oct. 16, 1807	Apr. 25, 1808	182	John Brown, of Kentucky.	Joseph B. Varnum, of Massachusetts.
	2	Nov. 7, 1808	Mar. 3, 1809	117	Jesse Franklin, of North Carolina.	
13th-----	1	Dec. 2, 1809	Apr. 21, 1810	141	Joseph Anderson, of Tennessee.	Do.
	2	Dec. 1, 1810	Mar. 3, 1811	93	Samuel Smith, of Maryland.	
14th-----	1	Oct. 16, 1811	Apr. 25, 1812	182	-----do-----	Do.
	2	Nov. 7, 1812	Mar. 3, 1813	117	Stephen R. Bradley, of Vermont.	
15th-----	1	May 22, 1813	June 28, 1813	38	John Milledge, of Georgia.	Do.
	2	Nov. 27, 1813	May 1, 1814	156	Andrew Gregg, of Pennsylvania.	
16th-----	1	Dec. 3, 1814	Mar. 3, 1815	91	John Gaillard, of South Carolina.	Do.
	2	Dec. 3, 1815	Mar. 3, 1816	91	John Pope, of Kentucky.	

¹ Until within recent years the appointment or election of a President pro tempore was held by the Senate to be for the occasion only, so that more than one appears in several sessions and in others none were chosen. Since Mar. 12, 1890, they have served until "the Senate otherwise ordered."

² The Constitution (Art. I, sec. 4) provided that the Congress should assemble Mar. 4, 1789, and thereafter "in every year * * * on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by law appoint a different day." Up to and including May 20, 1820, 18 acts were passed providing for the meeting of Congress on other days in the year. Since that year Congress has met regularly on the first Monday in December. The first and second sessions of the First Congress were held in New York; subsequently, until the second session of the Sixth Congress, Philadelphia was the meeting place; since then Congress has convened in Washington.

³ Elected to count the vote for President and Vice-President, which was done Apr. 6, 1789, a quorum of the Senate then appearing for the first time. John Adams, Vice-President, appeared Apr. 21, 1789, and took his seat as President of the Senate.

Congress	Session	Date of beginning	Date of adjournment	Length in days	President pro tempore of the Senate	Speaker of the House of Representatives
12th-----	1	Nov. 4, 1811	July 6, 1812	245	William H. Crawford, of Georgia.	Henry Clay, of Kentucky.
	2	Nov. 2, 1812	Mar. 3, 1813	122	-----do-----	
13th-----	1	May 24, 1813	Aug. 2, 1813	71	-----do-----	Do.
	2	Dec. 6, 1813	Apr. 18, 1814	134	Joseph B. Varnum, of Massachusetts.	
13th-----	3	Sept. 19, 1814	Mar. 3, 1815	106	John Gaillard, of South Carolina.	Langdon Cheves, ¹ of South Carolina.
14th-----	1	Dec. 4, 1815	Apr. 20, 1816	148	-----do-----	Henry Clay, of Kentucky.
	2	Dec. 2, 1816	Mar. 3, 1817	92	-----do-----	
15th-----	1	Dec. 1, 1817	Apr. 20, 1818	141	-----do-----	Do.
	2	Nov. 16, 1818	Mar. 3, 1819	108	James Barbour, of Virginia.	
16th-----	1	Dec. 6, 1819	May 15, 1820	162	John Gaillard, of South Carolina.	Do.
	2	Nov. 18, 1820	Mar. 3, 1821	111	-----do-----	John W. Taylor, ² of New York.
17th-----	1	Dec. 3, 1821	May 8, 1822	157	-----do-----	Philip P. Barbour, of Virginia.
	2	Dec. 2, 1822	Mar. 3, 1823	92	-----do-----	
18th-----	1	Dec. 1, 1823	May 27, 1824	178	-----do-----	Henry Clay, of Kentucky.
	2	Dec. 6, 1824	Mar. 3, 1825	88	-----do-----	
19th-----	1	Dec. 5, 1825	May 22, 1826	169	Nathaniel Macon, of North Carolina.	John W. Taylor, of New York.
	2	Dec. 4, 1826	Mar. 3, 1827	90	-----do-----	
20th-----	1	Dec. 3, 1827	Mar. 20, 1828	175	Samuel Smith, of Maryland.	Andrew Stevenson, of Virginia.
	2	Dec. 1, 1828	Mar. 3, 1829	93	-----do-----	
21st-----	1	Dec. 7, 1829	May 31, 1830	176	-----do-----	Do.
	2	Dec. 6, 1830	Mar. 3, 1831	88	Littleton Waller Tazewell, of Virginia.	
22d-----	1	Dec. 5, 1831	July 16, 1832	225	-----do-----	Do.
	2	Dec. 3, 1832	Mar. 2, 1833	91	Hugh Lawson White, of Tennessee.	
23d-----	1	Dec. 2, 1833	June 30, 1834	211	George Poindexter, of Mississippi.	Do.
	2	Dec. 1, 1834	Mar. 3, 1835	93	John Tyler, of Virginia.	John Bell, ³ of Tennessee.
24th-----	1	Dec. 7, 1835	July 4, 1836	211	William R. King, of Alabama.	James K. Polk, of Tennessee.
	2	Dec. 5, 1836	Mar. 3, 1837	80	-----do-----	
25th-----	1	Sept. 4, 1837	Oct. 16, 1837	43	-----do-----	Do.
	2	Dec. 4, 1837	July 9, 1838	218	-----do-----	
	3	Dec. 3, 1838	Mar. 3, 1839	91	-----do-----	
26th-----	1	Dec. 2, 1839	July 31, 1840	233	-----do-----	Robert M. T. Hunter of Virginia.
	2	Dec. 7, 1840	Mar. 3, 1841	87	-----do-----	
27th-----	1	May 31, 1841	Sept. 13, 1841	106	Samuel L. Southard, of New Jersey.	John White, of Kentucky.
	2	Dec. 6, 1841	Aug. 31, 1842	260	Willie P. Mangum, of North Carolina.	
	3	Dec. 5, 1842	Mar. 3, 1843	80	-----do-----	
28th-----	1	Dec. 4, 1843	June 17, 1844	196	-----do-----	John W. Jones, of Virginia.
	2	Dec. 2, 1844	Mar. 3, 1845	92	-----do-----	
29th-----	1	Dec. 1, 1845	Aug. 10, 1846	253	David R. Atchison, of Missouri.	John W. Davis, of Indiana.
	2	Dec. 7, 1846	Mar. 3, 1847	87	-----do-----	
30th-----	1	Dec. 6, 1847	Aug. 14, 1848	254	-----do-----	Robert C. Winthrop of Massachusetts.
	2	Dec. 4, 1848	Mar. 3, 1849	90	-----do-----	
31st-----	1	Dec. 3, 1849	Sept. 30, 1850	293	William R. King, of Alabama.	Howell Cobb, of Georgia.
	2	Dec. 2, 1850	Mar. 3, 1851	92	-----do-----	
32d-----	1	Dec. 1, 1851	Aug. 31, 1852	275	-----do-----	Linn Boyd, of Kentucky.
	2	Dec. 6, 1852	Mar. 3, 1853	88	-----do-----	
33d-----	1	Dec. 5, 1853	Aug. 7, 1854	246	David R. Atchison, of Missouri.	Do.
	2	Dec. 4, 1854	Mar. 3, 1855	90	Jesse D. Bright, of Indiana. Lewis Cass, of Michigan.	

¹ Elected Speaker, vice Henry Clay, who resigned Jan. 19, 1814.² Elected Speaker Nov. 15, 1820, vice Henry Clay, who resigned Oct. 28, 1820.³ Elected Speaker June 2, 1834, vice Andrew Stevenson, of Virginia, resigned.

Congress	Session	Date of beginning	Date of adjournment	Length in days	President pro tempore of the Senate	Speaker of the House of Representatives
34th-----	1	Dec. 3, 1855	Aug. 18, 1856	260	Jesse D. Bright, of Indiana.	Nathaniel P. Banks, of Massachusetts.
	2	Aug. 21, 1856	Aug. 30, 1856	10	-----do-----	
	3	Dec. 1, 1856	Mar. 3, 1857	93	James M. Mason, of Virginia. Thomas J. Rusk, of Texas.	
35th-----	1	Dec. 7, 1857	June 14, 1858	189	Benjamin Fitzpatrick, of Alabama.	James L. Orr, of South Carolina.
36th-----	2	Dec. 6, 1858	Mar. 3, 1859	88	-----do-----	William Pennington, of New Jersey.
	1	Dec. 5, 1859	June 25, 1860	202	-----do----- Jesse D. Bright, of Indiana. Solomon Foot, of Vermont.	
37th-----	2	Dec. 3, 1860	Mar. 3, 1861	93	-----do-----	Galusha A. Grow, of Pennsylvania.
	1	July 4, 1861	Aug. 6, 1861	34	-----do-----	
38th-----	2	Dec. 2, 1861	July 17, 1862	228	-----do-----	Schuyler Colfax, of Indiana.
	3	Dec. 1, 1862	Mar. 3, 1863	94	-----do-----	
	1	Dec. 7, 1863	July 4, 1864	200	-----do----- Daniel Clark, of New Hampshire.	
39th-----	2	Dec. 5, 1864	Mar. 3, 1865	90	-----do-----	Do.
	1	Dec. 4, 1865	July 28, 1866	237	Lafayette S. Foster, of Connecticut. Benjamin F. Wade, of Ohio.	
40th-----	2	Dec. 3, 1866	Mar. 2, 1867	92	-----do-----	Do.
	1	Mar. 4, 1867	Dec. 2, 1867	274	-----do-----	
	2	Dec. 2, 1867	Nov. 10, 1868	345	-----do-----	
41st-----	3	Dec. 7, 1868	Mar. 3, 1869	87	-----do-----	Theodore M. Pomeroy, ¹ of New York. James G. Blaine, of Maine.
	1	Mar. 4, 1869	Apr. 22, 1869	37	Henry B. Anthony, of Rhode Island.	
	2	Dec. 6, 1869	July 15, 1870	222	-----do-----	
42d-----	3	Dec. 5, 1870	Mar. 3, 1871	90	-----do-----	Do.
	1	Mar. 4, 1871	May 27, 1871	47	Henry B. Anthony, of Rhode Island.	
43d-----	2	Dec. 4, 1871	June 10, 1872	190	-----do-----	Do.
	3	Dec. 2, 1872	Mar. 3, 1873	91	-----do-----	
	1	Dec. 1, 1873	June 23, 1874	204	Matthew H. Carpenter, of Wisconsin.	
44th-----	2	Dec. 7, 1874	Mar. 3, 1875	87	-----do-----	Michael C. Kerr, ⁴ of Indiana. Samuel S. Cox, ⁵ of New York, pro tempore. Milton Saylor, ⁶ of Ohio, pro tempore. Samuel J. Randall, of Pennsylvania.
	1	Dec. 6, 1875	Aug. 15, 1876	254	Henry B. Anthony, of Rhode Island. Thomas W. Ferry, of Michigan.	
	2	Dec. 4, 1876	Mar. 3, 1877	90	-----do-----	
45th-----	1	Oct. 15, 1877	Dec. 3, 1877	50	-----do-----	Do.
	2	Dec. 3, 1877	June 20, 1878	200	Thomas W. Ferry, of Michigan.	
46th-----	3	Dec. 2, 1878	Mar. 3, 1879	92	-----do-----	Do.
	1	Mar. 18, 1879	July 1, 1879	106	Allen G. Thurman, of Ohio.	
	2	Dec. 1, 1879	June 16, 1880	199	-----do-----	
47th-----	3	Dec. 6, 1880	Mar. 3, 1881	88	-----do-----	J. Warren Keifer, of Ohio.
	1	Dec. 5, 1881	Aug. 8, 1882	247	Thomas F. Bayard, of Delaware. David Davis, of Illinois.	
	2	Dec. 4, 1882	Mar. 3, 1883	90	George F. Edmunds, of Vermont.	
48th-----	1	Dec. 3, 1883	July 7, 1884	218	-----do-----	John G. Carlisle, of Kentucky.
49th-----	2	Dec. 1, 1884	Mar. 3, 1885	93	-----do-----	Do.
	1	Dec. 7, 1885	Aug. 5, 1886	242	John Sherman, of Ohio.	

¹ There were recesses in this session from Saturday, Mar. 30, to Wednesday, July 1, and from Saturday, July 20, to Thursday, Nov. 21.

² There were recesses in this session from Monday, July 27, to Monday, Sept. 21, to Friday, Oct. 6, and to Tuesday, Nov. 10. No business was transacted subsequent to July 27.

³ Elected Speaker Mar. 3, 1869, and served one day.

⁴ Died Aug. 19, 1876.

⁵ Appointed Speaker pro tempore Feb. 17, May 12, June 19.

⁶ Appointed Speaker pro tempore June 4.

Congress	Session	Date of beginning	Date of adjournment	Length in days	President pro tempore of the Senate	Speaker of the House of Representatives
49th-----	2	Dec. 6, 1886	Mar. 3, 1887	88	John J. Ingalls, of Kansas.	
50th-----	1	Dec. 5, 1887	Oct. 20, 1888	321	do.	Do.
	2	Dec. 3, 1888	Mar. 2, 1889	91	do.	
51st-----	1	Dec. 2, 1889	Oct. 1, 1890	304	John J. Ingalls, of Kansas.	Thomas B. Reed, of Maine.
	2	Dec. 1, 1890	Mar. 3, 1891	93	Charles F. Manderson, of Nebraska.	
52d-----	1	Dec. 7, 1891	Aug. 5, 1892	251	do.	Charles F. Crisp, of Georgia.
	2	Dec. 5, 1892	Mar. 3, 1893	89	Isiah G. Harris, of Tennessee.	
53d-----	1	Aug. 7, 1893	Nov. 3, 1893	89	do.	Do.
	2	Dec. 4, 1893	Aug. 28, 1894	268	do.	
	3	Dec. 3, 1894	Mar. 2, 1895	90	Mt. W. Ransom, of North Carolina.	
					Isiah G. Harris, of Tennessee.	
54th-----	1	Dec. 2, 1895	June 11, 1896	193	William P. Frye, of Maine.	Thomas B. Reed, of Maine.
	2	Dec. 7, 1896	Mar. 3, 1897	87	do.	
55th-----	1	Mar. 15, 1897	July 24, 1897	131	do.	Do.
	2	Dec. 6, 1897	July 8, 1898	215	do.	
	3	Dec. 5, 1898	Mar. 3, 1899	89	do.	
56th-----	1	Dec. 4, 1899	June 7, 1900	186	do.	David B. Henderson, of Iowa.
	2	Dec. 3, 1900	Mar. 2, 1901	91	do.	
57th-----	1	Dec. 2, 1901	July 1, 1902	212	do.	Do.
	2	Dec. 1, 1902	Mar. 3, 1903	93	do.	
58th-----	1	Nov. 9, 1903	Dec. 7, 1903	29	do.	Joseph G. Cannon, of Illinois
	2	Dec. 7, 1903	Apr. 28, 1904	144	do.	
	3	Dec. 5, 1904	Mar. 3, 1905	89	do.	
59th-----	1	Dec. 4, 1905	June 30, 1906	209	do.	Do.
	2	Dec. 3, 1906	Mar. 2, 1907	90	do.	
60th-----	1	Dec. 2, 1907	May 30, 1908	181	do.	Do.
	2	Dec. 7, 1908	Mar. 3, 1909	87	do.	
61st-----	1	Mar. 15, 1909	Aug. 5, 1909	144	do.	Do.
	2	Dec. 6, 1909	June 25, 1910	202	do.	
	3	Dec. 5, 1910	Mar. 3, 1911	89	do.	
62d-----	1	Apr. 4, 1911	Aug. 22, 1911	141	do.	Champ Clark, of Missouri.
	2	Dec. 4, 1911	Aug. 26, 1912	267	Bacon ¹ , Brandegee, ² Curtis, ⁴ Gallinger, ⁵ Lodge ⁶ .	
					Bacon, ⁷ Gallinger ⁸ .	
63d-----	3	Dec. 2, 1912	Mar. 3, 1913	92	James P. Clarke ⁹ , of Arkansas.	Do.
	1	Apr. 7, 1913	Dec. 1, 1913	239	do.	
	2	Dec. 1, 1913	Oct. 24, 1914	328	do.	
	3	Dec. 7, 1914	Mar. 3, 1915	87	do.	
64th-----	1	Dec. 6, 1915	Sept. 8, 1916	278	do.	Do.
	2	Dec. 4, 1916	Mar. 3, 1917	90	Willard Saulsbury, of Delaware.	
65th-----	1	Apr. 2, 1917	Oct. 6, 1917	188	do.	Do.
	2	Dec. 3, 1917	Nov. 21, 1918	364	do.	
	3	Dec. 2, 1918	Mar. 3, 1919	92	do.	
66th-----	1	May 19, 1919	Nov. 19, 1919	185	Albert B. Cummins, of Iowa.	Frederick H. Gillett, of Massachusetts.
	2	Dec. 1, 1919	June 5, 1920	188	do.	
	3	Dec. 6, 1920	Mar. 4, 1921	89	do.	
67th-----	1	Apr. 11, 1921	Nov. 23, 1921	227	do.	Do.
	2	Dec. 5, 1921	Sept. 22, 1922	292	do.	
	3	Nov. 20, 1922	Dec. 4, 1922	15	do.	
	4	Dec. 4, 1922	Mar. 3, 1923	90	do.	
68th-----	1	Dec. 3, 1923	June 7, 1924	188	do.	Do.
	2	Dec. 1, 1924	Mar. 2, 1925	93	do.	
69th-----	1	Dec. 7, 1925			George H. Moses.	Nicholas Longworth.
	2	Dec. 6, 1926	Mar. 3, 1927	88	do.	Do.
70th-----	1	Dec. 5, 1927			do.	Do.

¹ Resigned as President pro tempore Apr. 27, 1911.² Elected to serve Jan. 11-17, Mar. 11-12, Apr. 8, May 10, May 30 to June 1 and 3, June 13 to July 5, Aug. 1-10, and Aug. 27 to Dec. 16, 1912.³ Elected to serve May 25, 1912.⁴ Elected to serve Dec. 4-12, 1911.⁵ Elected to serve Feb. 12-14, Apr. 26-27, May 7, July 6-31, Aug. 12-28, 1912.⁶ Elected to serve Mar. 25-26, 1912.⁷ Elected to serve Aug. 27 to Dec. 15, 1912, Jan. 5-18 and Feb. 2-15, 1913.⁸ Elected to serve Dec. 16, 1912, to Jan. 4, 1913, Jan. 19 to Feb. 1, and Feb. 16 to Mar. 3, 1913.⁹ Died Oct. 1, 1916.¹⁰ Recessed Aug. 24, 1921, until Sept. 21, 1921.¹¹ The House of Representatives recessed from June 30, 1922, until Aug. 15, 1922.

FOREWORD

WHY this book? someone will probably ask. The late Champ Clark, one of the great Speakers of the House of Representatives, and a really great man, gave to the world a charming story of his "Quarter of a Century of American Politics." In it I find this little account of one of his experiences: "Before I came to Congress one of my predecessors appointed a board, of which I was a member, to examine candidates for the West Point cadetship. It fell to my lot to prepare the questions in history. One question which I propounded was: 'Name the Presidents, the States they were from, their politics and length of service.' Some of the boys would have graded twenty-five on a scale of one hundred on that. Then I asked them to do the same for the Vice-Presidents, which I thought as easy as the first, and the answer of no boy would have been marked ten." Yet some of those Vice-Presidents were really marked figures in the history of the country. A little farther along in his volume I found this paragraph:

"Propound to any company of Americans the query: 'Who and what was Nathaniel Macon?' and discover the evanescence of fame. He was a soldier of the Revolution and a member of the North Carolina Legislature while still a beardless youth. His services in the two branches of Congress was the longest of the statesmen of the first half-century of our government under the Constitution. He was the most eminent of the Speakers of the House, until Henry Clay appeared upon the scene. He was accounted one of the ablest statesmen of that age, and could have remained in the Senate all his life had he so desired."

Read over the list of Speakers of the American House of Representatives. There you will find the names of great statesmen, ranking among the wisest of their day; orators, leaders of political thought; giving shape and direction to legislation. They stood high not only in the estimation of their immediate fellow-citizens, but with the whole country. They earned, by their wisdom and by their devotion to the interests of the whole people, a proud place in the pages of American history. But what boy about to graduate from any high school in the land can name them, or tell what they did? Yes, let us widen this out. How many of the thousands of teachers in the high schools can tell their pupils anything about these great men?

Yet it is the story of the lives of such men as Nathaniel Macon, Langdon Cheves, Henry Clay, Philip P. Barbour, Robert C. Winthrop, Schuyler Colfax, James G. Blaine, John G. Carlisle, Thomas B. Reed,

Joseph G. Cannon and Champ Clark which makes up the history of the country.

Does not what is said above furnish admirable reasons why some book giving in brief the story of each Speaker should be written? The lives of these men, what they accomplished, is an inspiration for every American boy. Poverty and privation was the lot of nearly every one of these men in the days of their boyhood. They aspired to climb; they did climb. So can every American boy climb if he but wills.

This book is an attempt to tell in brief the life story of those men who rose to the distinction of leading one or the other of the great political parties, for they were leaders, else they would not have been chosen to the high place they occupied, and who as such leaders did so much in shaping the legislation of the nation.

THE AUTHOR.

THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES—ITS FORMATION

WHEN our fathers assembled in Philadelphia in 1787 to formulate a plan for "a more perfect Union," they took as a model for the legislative branch of the new government the system prevailing in England—that is, a division of the legislative powers between two Houses. In America the House of Representatives was to be in some degree what the House of Commons is in Great Britain.

There were, however, some very marked differences between the two. The House of Commons was the model only in form, not in powers or prerogatives. At that time the House of Commons was composed of representatives of classes or interests. In America population was to be the basis of representation. Since our House of Representatives was formed, there have been a number of modifications in the composition of the House of Commons, but as yet population in the true sense is not the basis of representation. In 1787, when our Constitution was formulated, the British House of Commons consisted of about five hundred and sixty members. Of these more than three hundred and fifty were returned by less than fifteen thousand electors. This was only nominally so, for they were, in fact, elected on the recommendation of the government or on the endorsement of about two hundred private individuals.

Our House of Representatives was to be, in fact, as well as in name, the true representative of the people. To make it uniformly so, new apportionment is made after each census. There is nothing of the kind in Great Britain. Then, our representatives have to be chosen every two years. In Great Britain a Parliament lasts for seven years.

A man once elected to the House of Commons cannot resign. In America he not only can, but often does resign his seat in the House. There is a way by which a member of the House of Commons may get relieved of the burden of his seat, but it cannot be done by resigning. If he wants to give up his seat he applies to the government for some office under the Crown. If he is successful in his application, it automatically vacates his seat, as no member of the House can hold any other office. He generally applies for the office of stewardship of the Chilton Hundreds, and it is granted as a matter of course. The office is merely nominal, having no fixed term, no duties, no emoluments. It is granted "with all the wages, fees and allowances," and thus, under the law, is an "office of profit." Receiving the appointment, the member vacates his seat in the House of Commons, by a declaration by the Speaker. He can then resign his stewardship for the use of some other

member who desires to retire from the House. Of course, this is only an indirect method of resigning from the House, but tradition must be observed.

In another point there is a difference between the British and American systems. Here, for a man to secure a seat in the House, it is the invariable rule that the candidate must live in the district which he desires to represent. In Great Britain that is not necessary, and it frequently occurs that the same man is elected to the House of Commons by two or more constituencies. When that occurs he must decide before the opening of the session which of the constituencies he prefers to represent. When he makes a selection, a writ is issued for a "bye-election" to fill the vacancy or vacancies.

In the House of Commons forty members constitute a quorum. In the House of Representatives a majority is necessary. If the Speaker of the House of Commons finds a quorum present at the time for meeting, he takes the Chair. If no quorum is present, he sits in the clerk's chair, or retires from the chamber. At four o'clock he again appears, and, standing upon the upper steps of the platform, he counts the House, and adjourns it, in the absence of the required number.

If at any time during a session the absence of a quorum is suggested, he inverts the two-minute sand glass upon the table, and the members are summoned from all parts of the Houses. After the expiration of two minutes the Speaker counts the members present, and if the number is below forty, the House adjourns until the hour of the next meeting. In our House of Representatives the absence of a quorum necessitates a long roll-call, and a long and tiresome wait.

The most marked difference between the two systems, however, is in the power of the two Houses. In Great Britain the two Houses are not co-ordinate in power. The House of Commons is in reality the governing power, and can, and frequently does, force its will on the House of Lords, and even upon the Sovereign. Since Queen Anne's time no sovereign of Great Britain has dared to use the veto over the will of the House of Commons. In America the Senate often forces its will on the House of Representatives. This has been frequently the case in the enactment of revenue measures.

There is another difference, and one wherein the British system is much better than the American. That is the settlement of contested seats. In our House such contests are too often determined by party necessity, rather than by justice. Here the House is the sole judge of the election and return of its members. In Great Britain if a seat in the House of Commons is contested, the question is left with the courts, and the House is compelled to admit the person whom the court decides is entitled to the seat. This removes it entirely from party bias.

In elections to the House of Commons a man may have more than one vote. He has a voting right not only where he resides, but where

he owns property. The elections are not all held on the same day, and thus he has an opportunity of exercising his voting right in more than one place. There are also many differences in the ceremonies attending the sessions of the two Houses. The British are much more ceremonial and precise, everything being done after a long-established custom.

Very often the House is a very unruly body. Representative Crisp, when he was the leader of the minority, at one time found his own party so torn with dissensions and so uncontrollable that he declared openly: "Nobody can lead this wrangling, quarrelsome, factionalized Democratic minority." A minority, whether it be on the Democratic or Republican side of the chamber, feels that it has but one duty to perform—keep the majority in confusion, and prevent them from accomplishing anything that will redound to the credit of their party.

It is a place, however, where every member is put, sooner or later, to a severe test. The late President Garfield said: "There is no place where a man finds his true level so certainly and so speedily as in the House of Representatives." The House has always been regarded as a stepping stone to the Senate, and then, possibly, to something higher.

Twelve of our Presidents had previously served in the House, and one, John Quincy Adams, was sent to the House after having been President. Sixteen Vice-Presidents had House service.

The assembling of the First Congress under the Constitution was a most interesting event. By the proclamation which accompanied the Constitution the Senate was to consist of twenty-six members if all of the thirteen States ratified that instrument, and the House was to have fifty-nine members. It was provided that when nine of the States had ratified the Constitution, the Continental Congress should by resolution fix the day when the new government should begin to operate. The first Wednesday in March, 1789, was determined upon. On that day only eight Senators and thirteen members of the House were present. Rhode Island and North Carolina had not ratified. They did ratify, however, and their members took their seats at the second session. Two-thirds of each body were required to make a quorum.

The old Continental Congress had been practically moribund for some months. Its days were now numbered. Some days less than half a dozen members would answer to their names when the roll was called. After the first of January, 1789, it could never muster a quorum.

At sunset on the evening of March 3rd it was fired out of existence by a salute of thirteen guns fired from the fort opposite Bowling Green in New York. At sunrise of Wednesday, the 4th of March, the new Congress and new Union were ushered in by a salute of eleven guns from the same fort and by the ringing of all the church bells in the city. The eleven guns represented the States which had ratified the Constitution.

When the new House met only thirteen members responded. The body lacked seventeen members to make the necessary quorum to transact business. Adjournments were had from day to day until April 1st, when the necessary thirty were in their seats. A few days later all were present. The Senate did not succeed in securing a quorum until April 6th. The five members North Carolina was entitled to took their seats in 1790. The last to appear was John Sevier, who was sworn in June 16th of that year. Benjamin Bourn, the sole Representative of Rhode Island, took his seat December 17th, 1790.

The House was troubled at the very beginning by contests for seats. The four elected from New Jersey and one of South Carolina's delegation were contested. The sitting members in each case were permitted to hold their seats. Much of the work to start the new government was performed before the membership was full.

The old City Hall of New York had been transformed for the use of the new Congress. The room assigned to the House of Representatives was sixty-one feet long, fifty-eight feet wide and thirty-six feet high. It contained four large open fire-places. It had two galleries for visitors. The seats for the Representatives were arranged in circular form. It was in that hall and in the presence of the Senators and Representatives from eleven States the votes cast by the electors for President and Vice-President were opened and counted. It was on the balcony in front of that hall George Washington took the oath as first President of the United States.

One of the troubles of the new Congress was to determine by what title the President should be addressed. Some proposed "His Highness," and others "His Excellency." Finally true republicanism carried the day, and his title became simply "Mr. President." Eighty-five men, twenty-six Senators and fifty-nine Representatives set in motion the wheels of a government which now ranks as the most powerful nation on the globe. The present Senate consists of ninety-six members, and the House of four hundred and thirty-five.

THE SPEAKERSHIP

WHILE the principal object of this volume is to present to the reader short biographical sketches of the men who from time to time have been selected to preside over the deliberations of the National House of Representatives, it will not be out of place to give, for the information of the general reader, a brief statement of the manner of selecting a presiding officer of this great legislative body.

In providing for the legislative branch of the government sought to be established, the framers of the Constitution took the British Parliament for its model, dividing the legislative power between two Houses. Of one, the Senate, the Vice-President was to be the presiding officer. Of the other, the House of Representatives, the selection of the one who was to preside over its deliberations was left to the choice of the members. He was to be titled "The Speaker."

This office of Speaker we derive from the British House of Commons, but there are many differences in the methods of choosing, of induction into office, and in the authority and power to be exercised between the two.

Something of the ceremonious manner in which a Speaker for the House of Commons is selected will be of interest to the general reader. A delightful account of the method of procedure in London is given by Macdonagh in his "Speaker of the House." He says:

On the day appointed the members returned by the constituencies assemble at St. Stephens, Palace of Westminster. But though the elected representatives of the people are thus gathered together, the House of Commons is not yet constituted. The great Chair at the top of the chamber is unoccupied. The Assembly is without a President. The House of Commons is not constitutionally formed until the members have sworn allegiance, and they cannot subscribe to the oath, and are voiceless, so far as public affairs are concerned, until the Speaker, the "mouth" of the House, is elected.

The Clerk of the House of Commons, sitting in his chair at the table, in wig and gown, acts as moderator while the Assembly is passing through this traditional stage of final completion. But the Clerk cannot do this simply by virtue of his office. He is powerless without the Mace, the symbol of the Speaker's authority. It seems, indeed, that unless the Mace is present there can be no election of Speaker. Accordingly, the Mace has been brought from the Tower of London—where it is deposited for safe-keeping during the parliamentary recess—and is placed not upon the table, where it conspicuously rests when the House is sitting and the Speaker in his chair, but below the table, out of view.

It cannot yet be said, however, that the way is clear for the Commons to carry out the election of a Speaker. Both the practice and the theory of the constitution require that before the Commons proceed to choose a Speaker they must have received the assent of the Sovereign. It is in the House of Lords this authorization must be given to them. Black Rod, the messenger of the House of Lords

therefore soon appears, carrying his ebony rod tipped with gold, and conducts the Clerk and Members of the House of Commons to the Bar of the House of Lords. The Lord Chancellor and four other peers are seated in their scarlet and ermine robes on a form placed between the Throne and the Woolsack. They are the Lord Commissioners appointed by the King to conduct, in his absence, these preliminaries to the State opening of the new Parliament. The Lord Chancellor says: ". . . It being necessary that a Speaker of the House of Commons shall be first chosen, it is His Majesty's pleasure that you gentlemen of the House of Commons repair to the place where you are to sit, and there proceed to the choice of some proper person to be your Speaker; and that you present such person whom you shall so choose here, tomorrow, at noon, for His Majesty's royal approbation."

Then the Clerk and the Commons—without a word having been spoken on their side—return to their chamber, where they immediately proceed to the discharge of their first duty, that of electing a Speaker. There is usually no doubt as to the Commons' choice. The Speaker of the last Parliament is again available, and in accordance with the now well-established custom of re-electing the same Speaker, Parliament after Parliament, so long as he is willing and fit to serve, the late Speaker is to be installed in the chair again.

The Clerk resumes his seat at the table. He it is who has to guide and direct the House in the election of a Speaker. But he is not allowed to speak. Everything that falls on him to do must be done in dumb show. . . . Rising from his seat, the Clerk points outstretched finger at the member who is to move: "That ——— do take the Chair of the House as Speaker." This motion has to be seconded by another member, and he also is indicated in the same manner by the Clerk. . . .

It is traditional for the proposer and seconder to make speeches in the grand manner. . . . As there is no opposition, the member proposed is called by the House to the Chair, without any question being put by the Clerk.

Though the Commons have chosen one of their number to take the Chair as Speaker, the person selected has to submit himself at the Bar of the House of Lords for the Sovereign's approbation before he can enter upon the duties of his office. Until the royal ratification has been signified he continues to be styled "the Speaker-elect."

The ancient forms are strictly adhered to. The King gives his consent to the faithful Commons to choose their Speaker, and, having made their selection, the Commons, faithful still, submit their nominee for royal approval. The second day sees the observance of this formality, which completes the full ritual of election to the Chair of the House of Commons on the assembling of a new Parliament. The Speaker-elect ceremoniously enters the chamber by the main door, under the clock, attended by the Sergeant-at-arms. It is obvious that his evolution as "Mr. Speaker" is not yet completed. He is still, as it were, in the chrysalis state. He appears only half made up, so far as his distinctive or official costume is concerned. He wears the usual court dress—cutaway coat, ruffles, knee-breeches, silk stockings and silver-buckled shoes—but not the full-flowing black robe, and on his head there is a small bob-wig, instead of the customary large and ample wig, the wings of which fall over his shoulder, in which he is seen when he presides over the House of Commons.

The royal approbation being ceremoniously given to his election as Speaker, he returns with the Commons to their chamber. He goes first to his private room. When he reappears he is in full dress. The bob-wig has disappeared, and its place taken by the full-flowing one, and over his court dress is thrown the full black silk gown.

Pomp and ceremony accompanies his entrance into the Chamber of the House of Commons. As he leaves his room he is met by the Ser-

gent-at-arms, with the Mace carried over his right shoulder. "Hats off! Make way for the Speaker!" shouts a policeman, and as he enters the Chamber the members rise and stand until he has taken the Chair. How different here in America.

No royal consent to be asked, no royal approbation to be received. Each party nominates its candidate, the vote is taken, and the one having received a majority of the votes is declared elected. The chosen one is conducted to the chair, a little speechmaking is indulged in, and the American House of Representatives is ready for business. The daily entrance of the Speaker into the Hall of the House is without ceremony. There is no calling "Hats off!" At the exact minute for the opening of the session he quietly enters by the door nearest the Speaker's platform, ascends the two or three steps, and, by a single rap of his gavel, announces his presence.

During our Congressional history there have been four occasions when the selection of a Speaker was only accomplished after many ballots had been taken. The details of those prolonged struggles will be given in treating of the biography of the man finally selected. As a rule, one or two ballots have been sufficient to decide the contest. Professor Moran, in his "Theory and Practice of the English Government," draws this marked distinction between the Speaker of the House of Commons and of our House of Representatives.

The Speaker is the official spokesman of the House of Commons, and also its presiding officer. He is elected by the House and continues in office for the entire Parliament. It is customary, too, to re-elect the former Speaker at the opening of a new Parliament. . . . The present Speaker, though formerly a Liberal in politics, has served through Liberal and Conservative administrations alike. This is due to the fact that the presiding officer of the House of Commons leaves partisanship behind him when he assumes the chair. Herein lies a marked difference between the English and the American Speaker. The American Speaker has always been a political leader and not a mere moderator, as the English Speaker has been. The American Speaker is partisan, while the English is impartial. The American Speaker expects to go out of office, and actually does go out with his party, but the English Speaker may, and usually does, continue in office after the defeat of his party and the organization of the Opposition. Although the English Speaker is elected by a party, he knows no party when in the chair. He is strictly impartial in public and private intercourse with the members.

NOTES.

Of the several Speakers, one, James K. Polk, later became President of the United States, and another, Schuyler Colfax, became Vice-President.

Five of them—Henry Clay, John Bell, Howell Cobb, James Gillespie Blaine and John G. Carlisle—held seats in the Cabinet.

Clay was Secretary of State in the administration of President John Quincy Adams, and Blaine held the same position in the cabinets of

Presidents Garfield and Benjamin Harrison. Howell Cobb was at the head of the Department of the Treasury under President Buchanan, and Carlisle in the second administration of President Cleveland.

John Bell was Secretary of War in the Cabinet of President William Henry Harrison. Philip P. Barbour became Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States.

Henry Clay had the unique record of being elected Speaker of the House every time he was a member of that body. He was elected six times.

George Dent, of Maryland, was twice elected Speaker, but each time for one day only.

Michael C. Kerr was the only Speaker to die in office.

Only two of the forty or more who have been elected Speaker of the House of Representatives have resigned that office. Henry Clay resigned January 19th, 1814, to accept a place as one of the Commissioners to treat for peace with Great Britain. On October 28th, 1820, he resigned a second time, owing to necessity of attending to his own private affairs.

Andrew Stevenson resigned June 1st, 1834, to accept an appointment in the foreign service.

Schuyler Colfax was elected Vice-President while he was Speaker of the House, and on March 3rd, 1869, the day before he was to take the oath of office as Vice-President, he resigned the Speakership. Representative Theodore M. Pomeroy, of New York, was elected Speaker, serving one day only.

During the illness of Speaker Michael C. Kerr, Samuel S. Cox, of New York, was appointed Speaker, pro tem., serving on three different days. Milton Saylor, of Ohio, likewise served one day.

STATES THAT HAVE FURNISHED SPEAKERS

Speakers have been elected from the several States as follows:

Connecticut (1)—Trumbull.
Georgia (2)—Cobb and Crisp.
Illinois (1)—Cannon.
Indiana (3)—Davis, Colfax, and Kerr.
Iowa (1)—Henderson.
Kentucky (4)—Clay, White, Boyd, and Carlisle.
Maine (2)—Blaine and Reed.
Massachusetts (5)—Sedgwick, Varnum, Winthrop, Banks,
and Gillette.
Missouri (1)—Clark.
New Jersey (2)—Dayton and Pennington.
New York (2)—Taylor and Cox.
North Carolina (1)—Macon.
Ohio (2)—Keifer and Longworth.
Pennsylvania (3)—Muhlenberg, Grow, and Randall.
South Carolina (2)—Cheves and Orr.
Tennessee (2)—Bell and Polk.
Virginia (4)—Barbour, Stevenson, Hunter, and Jones.

NUMBER OF TERMS FOR WHICH ELECTED

Clay, six.

Stevenson, Cannon, and Clark, four each.

Macon, Colfax, Blaine, Randall, Carlisle, Reed, and Gillette, three each.

Muhlenberg, Dayton, Varnum, Taylor, Boyd, Crisp, Henderson, and Longworth, two each.

Cheves, Barbour, Bell, Polk, Hunter, White, Jones, Davis, Winthrop, Cobb, Banks, Orr, Pennington, Grow, and Kerr, one each.

AGES OF SPEAKERS AT TIME OF THEIR ELECTION

Banks, 39.	Davis, 46.	Orr, 35.
Barbour, 38.	Dayton, 35.	Pennington, 63.
Bell, 37.	Gillette, 68.	Polk, 40.
Blaine, 37.	Grow, 38.	Randall, 48.
Boyd, 51.	Henderson, 50.	Reed, 50.
Cannon, 67.	Hunter, 30.	Sedgwick, 53.
Carlisle, 48.	Jones, 52.	Stevenson, 43.
Cheves, 38.	Keifer, 45.	Taylor, 36.
Clark, 61.	Kerr, 48.	Trumbull, 51.
Clay, 34.	Longworth, 56.	Varnum, 57.
Cobb, 34.	Macon, 44.	White, 36.
Colfax, 40.	Muhlenberg, 39.	Winthrop, 38.
Crisp, 46.		

ROSTER OF SPEAKERS

FREDERICK A. C. MUHLENBERG, of Pennsylvania, First and Third Congresses.

JONATHAN TRUMBULL, of Connecticut, Second Congress.

JONATHAN DAYTON, of New Jersey, Fourth and Fifth Congresses.

GEORGE DENT, of Maryland, Fifth Congress¹.

THEODORE SEDGWICK, of Massachusetts, Sixth Congress.

NATHANIEL MACON, of North Carolina, Seventh, Eighth and Ninth Congresses.

JOSEPH B. VARNUM, of Massachusetts, Tenth and Eleventh Congresses.

† HENRY CLAY, of Kentucky, Twelfth, Thirteenth, Fourteenth, Fifteenth, Sixteenth and Eighteenth Congresses.

— LANGDON CHEVES, of South Carolina, Thirteenth Congress.²

✓ JOHN W. TAYLOR, of New York, Sixteenth and Nineteenth Congresses.³

✓ PHILIP P. BARBOUR, of Virginia, Seventeenth Congress.

✓ ANDREW STEVENSON, of Virginia, Twentieth, Twenty-first, Twenty-second and Twenty-third Congresses.

JOHN BELL, of Tennessee, Twenty-third Congress.⁴

JAMES K. POLK, of Tennessee, Twenty-fourth and Twenty-fifth Congresses.

R. M. T. HUNTER, of Virginia, Twenty-sixth Congress.

✓ JOHN WHITE, of Kentucky, Twenty-seventh Congress.

✓ JOHN W. JONES, of Virginia, Twenty-eighth Congress.

✓ JOHN W. DAVIS, of Indiana, Twenty-ninth Congress.

ROBERT C. WINTHROP, of Massachusetts, Thirtieth Congress.

✓ HOWELL COBB, of Georgia, Thirty-first Congress.

✓ LINN BOYD, of Kentucky, Thirty-second and Thirty-third Congresses.

✓ NATHANIEL P. BANKS, of Massachusetts, Thirty-fourth Congress.

✓ JAMES L. ORR, of South Carolina, Thirty-fifth Congress.

WILLIAM PENNINGTON, of New Jersey, Thirty-sixth Congress.

GALUSHA A. GROW, of Pennsylvania, Thirty-seventh Congress.

SCHUYLER COLFAX, of Indiana, Thirty-eighth, Thirty-ninth and Fortieth Congresses.

JAMES G. BLAINE, of Maine, Forty-first, Forty-second and Forty-third Congresses.

MICHAEL C. KERR, of Indiana, Forty-fourth Congress.

SAMUEL S. COX, of New York, Forty-fourth Congress.⁵

SAMUEL J. RANDALL, of Pennsylvania, Forty-fifth and Forty-sixth Congresses.

J. WARREN KEIFER, of Ohio, Forty-seventh Congress.

JOHN G. CARLISLE, of Kentucky, Forty-eight, Forty-ninth and Fiftieth Congresses.

THOMAS B. REED, of Maine, Fifty-first, Fifty-fourth and Fifty-fifth Congresses.

CHARLES F. CRISP, of Georgia, Fifty-second and Fifty-third Congresses.

DAVID B. HENDERSON, of Iowa, Fifty-sixth and Fifty-seventh Congresses.

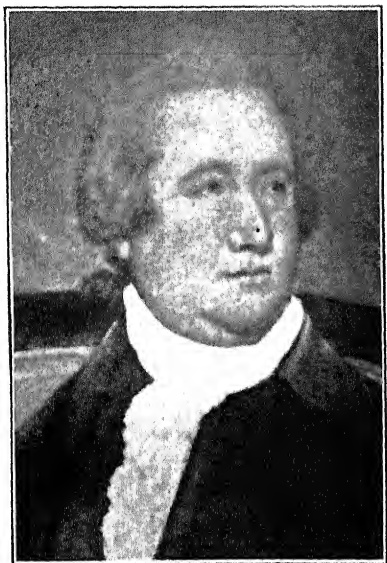
JOSEPH G. CANNON, of Illinois, Fifty-eighth, Fifty-ninth, Sixtieth and Sixty-first Congresses.

CHAMP CLARK, of Missouri, Sixty-second, Sixty-third, Sixty-fourth and Sixty-fifth Congresses.

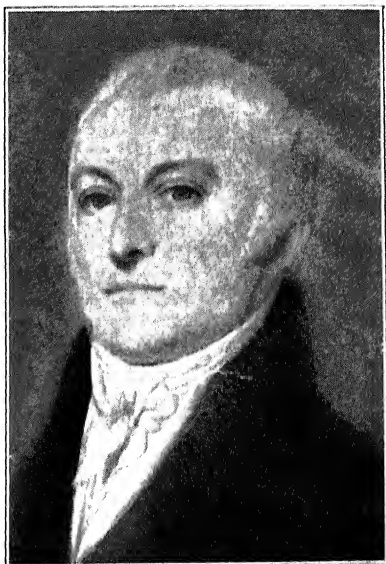
FREDERICK H. GILLETTE, of Massachusetts, Sixty-sixth, Sixty-seventh and Sixty-eighth Congresses.

NICHOLAS LONGWORTH, of Ohio, Sixty-ninth and Seventieth Congresses.

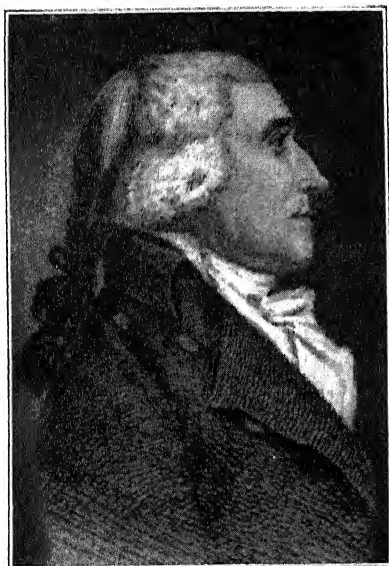
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1. Elected Speaker pro tempore during the illness of Speaker Dayton, and served two days.
 2. Elected Speaker vice Henry Clay, resigned.
 3. Elected Speaker Sixteenth Congress vice Henry Clay, resigned.
 4. Elected Speaker vice Alexander Stevenson, resigned.
 5. Elected Speaker vice Michael C. Kerr, deceased.



FREDERICK A. C. MUHLENBERG
Pennsylvania
First and Third Congresses



JONATHAN TRUMBULL, Connecticut
Second Congress



JONATHAN DAYTON, New Jersey
Fourth and Fifth Congresses



THEODORE SEDGWICK, Massachusetts
Sixth Congress

BIOGRAPHIES OF THE SPEAKERS

FREDERICK AUGUSTUS CONRAD MUHLENBERG

FREDERICK AUGUSTUS CONRAD MUHLENBERG—Speaker of the First and Third Congresses. Born at The Trappe, Pennsylvania, January 2, 1750. Son of the Rev. Henry Melchoir and Anna Maria (Weiser) Muhlenberg. Educated at Halle, Germany. Ordained a minister in the Lutheran Church, October 25, 1770. Married Miss Catharine Schafer, October 15, 1771. Died at Lancaster, Pennsylvania, June 4, 1801.

It is to be regretted that there is so little data of public record touching the lives and labors for the common good of so many who performed important services in laying the foundation and erecting the superstructure of our government. If they served in Congress, if they were not speech-makers, their names are seldom found in the meager pages of the earlier Annals of Congress, yet they were there, with their votes and their influence, giving shape and direction, and otherwise materially aiding in legislation, and in influencing their constituents at home, performing, in fact, much more important services for the country than many of those who were counted among the talking branch.

They are mentioned in the encyclopedias, it is true, but it is only a mention. The various offices they held may be recorded, but nothing of the *man* himself, his characteristics, his activities. This is the case with the subject of this sketch. He served, and served well, several terms in the General Assembly of the State of Pennsylvania, one term as a delegate to the Continental Congress, as president of the convention called in Pennsylvania to ratify the Constitution, and four terms in Congress, in two of which he was Speaker, but there is little on permanent record of what he did in the service of the public. Much of the material for this sketch was secured from some of his descendants who cherish his name.

His family was distinguished in Pennsylvania. His father was an eminent preacher of the Lutheran church and was called the "Patriarch of the Lutheran church in America." One brother served under Washington in the war for independence, commanding a regiment. Another brother was long prominent as pastor of leading churches. They were all patriotic, loving America.

The father of the future Speaker came to this country in 1742, settling at The Trappe. It was a settlement of Germans, most of them belonging to the Lutheran church. He came in a missionary spirit,

and served the church at The Trappe as its pastor for many years. He was a man of rare endowments and fine education, and filled the pulpit in a number of the most important Lutheran churches in this country. Soon after reaching this country he married a young lady of Philadelphia. To them were born three sons and four daughters. His sons were all destined to the ministry almost from their birth. Opportunities for education in this country in those early years were rare, and the father devoted much of his time to the education of his children, especially of the three sons. Desiring for them an education superior to what he could give them, or they could obtain in America, he sent the three sons to Germany. At that time Frederick was but thirteen years of age. The three brothers entered upon their studies at Halle. The oldest of the three remained at the school only a short time, but Frederick and Henry, his younger brothers, gave seven years to their school life, pursuing their studies with much more zeal than is often the case with boys. After seven years of study they were both ordained to the ministry and then returned to America.

Frederick wrote and spoke German with much more facility than he did English. Perhaps it was this German training and his facility in writing and speaking that language which later gave him so much influence with the German people of Pennsylvania, leading and directing their activities in the patriotic cause during the war for independence.

Soon after his return to America he became assistant pastor in the church in Berks county served by his brother-in-law. Later he was made pastor of the church in Salem. In 1775 he was offered the pastorate of a prominent church in Maryland, but declined it. The same year he became pastor of a church in New York. There he held all the services in the German tongue. At the outbreak of the Revolution he ardently espoused the cause of the patriots. So great was his influence that he soon won his congregation to cordially agree with him. His earnestness and the influence he was exercising among the Germans of the city angered the Tory element, and they began a system of intimidation and threats. When it became apparent that the British would occupy the city, it was felt that he would be in great danger because of the enmity of the Tories.

His friends urged him to leave the city, and he reluctantly listened to them. Two days before the immortal Declaration of Independence was voted by Congress he departed from New York. It was indeed dark days for him. He was poor, with an increasing family to support. His father had grown old, and was not able to assist him financially. He went from place to place, serving congregations of Lutherans whenever the opportunity presented itself. For this service he received but little remuneration, as the people were all poor. Wherever he went he taught patriotism, and as the congregations he served were

mostly German, his influence among them steadily increased. In 1779 he resigned his ministerial offices, having determined to enter political life.

At that time there were three vacancies in the Pennsylvania delegation in the Continental Congress. His services among the Germans were recognized and he was elected to fill one of the vacancies. He gave himself earnestly and energetically to the service, and was placed on several important committees. While he was in Congress he was elected a member of the State Assembly, but decided to hold his seat in Congress until final adjournment was reached. In a letter written to his brother in October, 1780, he drew the following dark picture of the condition of affairs: "The coffers are empty, the taxes almost unendurable, the people are in a bad humor, the money discredited, the army magazines exhausted, and the prospect to replenish them poor; the soldiers are badly clad, winter is coming, the enemy by no means to be despised, especially since the arrival of Rodney. Taking this and other things into account, public service might appear undesirable. However, let us once more take cheer and be steadfast, rely on God, and our own strength, and endure courageously, then we shall after all be sure of reaching our goal."

On the adjournment of Congress he took his seat in the State Assembly, and was at once elected Speaker. He served in this position for three terms. He devoted much of his time to writing for the newspapers in defense of the actions of Congress and of the Assembly against attacks that were being made upon them. Some of the articles were written in English, but the greater portion of them were written in German. At this time he hoped to be soon relieved from his political duties, but it was not to be. In a letter to his brother he said: "It is settled that I go to The Trappe in April, where I expect to recuperate in the solitude and quiet of rural life. For, believe me, I have become faint in body and soul. Take my remark as you please, I assure you I aim at nothing but the welfare of my country. Popularity I do not seek. The fool's praise or censure I do not mind."

He had given up his ministry and devoted the years to the service of his country, and it was no cause of wonder that he was willing once more to enter the ministry, a profession in which, by education and talents, he might expect to accomplish much good.

Rest from public service, however, was not for him. In 1782 he was again elected a member of the Assembly, and on its convening was again elected Speaker. Before the close of his term in the Assembly he was elected a member of the Board of Censors, a board having final oversight of the laws enacted by the Assembly and of the finances of the State. On taking his seat he was called to preside over the board.

About this time he became interested in a merchandising firm in Philadelphia, and it was a sort of relaxation for him to give some time

and attention to the direction of that business, but most of his time and energies were still given to the business of the public. He was commissioned a justice of the peace for a district covering several townships, and served in that capacity for four years. He was later appointed Register of Wills and Recorder of Deeds.

During those years the agitation for a "more perfect union" was arousing the people to a realization of the weakness of the Confederation. The agitation culminated in the adoption of a constitution to be submitted to the people of the several States. Mr. Muhlenberg became an earnest advocate of the proposed constitution, and advocated it through a number of contributions to the press. As was his custom in his writing, some of his articles were written in German and specially addressed to that class of the citizenry.

A convention was called in Pennsylvania to pass upon the question of ratifying the constitution and becoming a member of the new union. Mr. Muhlenberg was chosen as one of the members of that convention, and when it met was called upon to preside over its deliberations. It would seem that he must have had some peculiar talents as a presiding officer, for on every occasion he was called to that position. In the convention he used all his power and influence to secure the ratification of the constitution. There was much opposition and the question of ratification hung in the balance for some time. Its friends, however, were successful finally, and Pennsylvania became a part of the new nation. Writers of that period gave much of the credit for winning Pennsylvania to the new system to Mr. Muhlenberg.

Under the constitution Pennsylvania was entitled to eight representatives in the lower House of Congress. Frederick Muhlenberg and his brother, Peter, were elected as two of the eight. Congress was to meet in New York on the fourth of March, 1789. In 1776 Mr. Muhlenberg had been compelled to give up his church and flee from New York, because of his pronounced adhesion to the cause of the colonies, and his activities in the patriotic cause. Now he was to return to that city for the first time after his forced retirement as a member of the First Congress. It must have been a proud day for him. Independence had been won; a new and united system of government had been devised, and was now to be put in operation, with him as one of the leaders.

It was not until the first of April that a quorum of the House was present, and the first act in the organization was to choose a Speaker. This choice fell upon Mr. Muhlenberg. This prompt recognition of his abilities and of his services in the cause of the union was very gratifying to him. A great work was before that Congress. A new government had been born; it had a constitution, but had no laws of general application, and such laws had to be formulated and placed on the statute books; its first duty, however, was to count the votes for President and Vice-President, and to arrange for conducting the successful

parties into their high offices. John Langdon, a Senator from New Hampshire, was elected to preside over the joint convention of the two Houses to count the votes. By his side sat Frederick Muhlenberg. This was done on the sixth of April.

A President inaugurated, the active work of the Congress began. Take a glance at the work before the First Congress. The whole machinery of the new government had to be constructed. Executive departments had to be created and their powers and duties defined. A system of communication with other governments had to be devised. A system for collecting and disbursing a needed revenue had to be evolved, and connected with this was the providing for a uniform and stable currency for the necessary transaction of the business of the government and the public. A judicial system for the whole country was to be created and put in operation. Also a postal system for communicating with the various sections of the country. There was no army, no navy, the one needed for the protection of the settlers against the Indians, and the other to safeguard commerce on the sea. The details of all these had to be worked out. So well was the work performed that there has been little change in any of the departments then organized, except as they have been relieved of some of their duties by the creation of new departments.

It was a great Congress, composed of constructive statesmen. In the Senate were such men as John Langdon, Rufus King, Philip Schuyler, Robert Morris, Pierce Butler, James Monroe and Richard Henry Lee. In the House were Roger Sherman, Jonathan Trumbull, Charles Carroll, Fisher Ames, Elbridge Gerry, Theodore Sedgwick, Elias Boudinot and James Madison. Great names in the history of the country; men qualified in every way to start the wheels of a new government in orderly and successful motion.

It was a high honor to be selected to preside over such a body of men engaged in the great work of nation-building. The country has grown since then; grown vastly in the extent of territory, in population, in wealth, in industrial activities, all owing, in a very large measure, to the careful and wise manner in which the men of the first Congress did the work before them. Mr. Muhlenberg presided over the three sessions of that Congress with great dignity, taking but little part in the open debates, but wielding a wide influence as to the shaping of the legislation.

His constituents were satisfied with his work and elected him to serve them again in the Second Congress. Of that Congress he was not chosen Speaker, that honor being bestowed on Jonathan Trumbull, of Connecticut. This was not because of any loss of popularity on the part of Mr. Muhlenberg, or of any dissatisfaction with his rulings during the First Congress, but at that early date there was a sentiment favoring a rotation in the distribution of honors.

During the two sessions of the Second Congress, Mr. Muhlenberg took a more prominent part in the debates than he had done when he was the presiding officer, but his main activities were devoted to work in the committees. The revenue system that had been devised by the First Congress was not entirely satisfactory. There was much opposition to it in some of the States; there was friction in the Cabinet, and other parts of the new machinery needed attention. In everything that came before the House the influence of Mr. Muhlenberg was felt.

By this time the country was dividing into political parties, some following Washington and Hamilton, and others turning toward the theories advanced by Mr. Jefferson. When the Third Congress met, this division into parties was felt. Mr. Muhlenberg was again a member. His sentiments leaned toward the Jefferson ideas, and he became the candidate of that party for the Speakership. The Federalists put forward Theodore Sedgwick as their candidate, the election resulting in the choice of Mr. Muhlenberg.

In the sessions of this Congress he frequently availed himself of the right, when the House was in Committee of the Whole, to take part in the debates, proving a very formidable speaker. Taxation was one of the troubling things before the Third Congress, as it has been in many later Congresses. On every feature of that perplexing question Mr. Muhlenberg was heard in debate. As Speaker in the First and Third Congresses, he set many precedents by his rulings, precedents which are still followed.

Washington's administration was drawing to a close when the Fourth Congress assembled. Mr. Muhlenberg was again a member. One of the important questions before this Congress was the Jay Treaty. It was ratified by the Senate after a long and stormy debate, but some action on the part of the House was necessary before it could be carried into effect. No treaty the government has ever negotiated caused such a storm of opposition as did the famous treaty negotiated by Mr. Jay with Great Britain. It was denounced everywhere as a base and needless surrender of American rights to England. For a time it seemed to have no friend but President Washington. Jay was burned in effigy in a number of cities, and even threats against his life were made.

When it was first presented to the Senate for ratification, backed by all the influence and popularity of President Washington, a bitter debate followed, a debate which lasted for weeks, the President being fiercely assailed. Finally, however, on the 24th of April, 1795, it was ratified by a very narrow margin.

It required the action of the House in appropriating money for the carrying out of some of its provisions. A resolution making the appropriation was offered, and then the storm that had raged in the Senate broke out in the House. The debate was prolonged, and at all times

was angry. It continued five days in Committee of the Whole, with Mr. Muhlenberg presiding. It finally came to a vote on April 29. The vote was a tie, with forty-nine in favor of the resolution and forty-nine voting no. The whole matter then rested on Mr. Muhlenberg. He was not wholly satisfied with the terms of the treaty, but recognized the rightfulness of carrying it into effect, as it had been duly ratified by the Senate. It was, by the Constitution, the law of the land, and should be carried out. After but little deliberation he cast his vote in favor of the resolution. Thus, by the submission of his own opinions to what he believed to be right under existing conditions, Congress and the administration were saved from a very embarrassing position. The resolution having been adopted in the Committee, that adoption had to be affirmed by the House, which was done by a vote of fifty-one against forty-eight.

Patriotism and wise statesmanship led Mr. Muhlenberg to face what he knew would be a storm of opposition, for it was wise statesmanship to stand at that time between the administration and the wrath of the misguided people, thus giving evidence to the world that the new nation was capable of carrying out and perfecting an assumed obligation, notwithstanding a clamor.

On the adjournment of the Fourth Congress Mr. Muhlenberg withdrew from active political life. He expressed to his friends a desire for rest from political strife, and from service of the public. He belonged to that political party headed by Mr. Jefferson, known as National Republicans, but was determined to take no active part in party management. He continued, however, to write for the papers, strongly supporting the views of Mr. Jefferson. He was not destined to remain long out of office. The Collector General of the Pennsylvania Land Office was removed by the Governor, who immediately offered the place thus vacated to Mr. Muhlenberg. Accepting the office, he removed to Lancaster, then the seat of the state government. He assumed the duties of the office early in 1800, but lived only a year longer, dying on the 4th of June, 1801.

He filled with honor every position to which he was called, and he well deserved the confidence of the people of Pennsylvania. His patriotism and statesmanship has never been questioned. Political party strife and animosity were just beginning to divide the people when he passed away. He was an adherent of Jefferson, and there can be no doubt that had he lived that great statesman would have called him to some position of high honor. He has numerous descendants living in Pennsylvania and other parts of the country, and they take a justifiable pride in keeping alive his memory.

JONATHAN TRUMBULL

JONATHAN TRUMBULL—Speaker of the House of Representatives in the Second Congress. Born in Lebanon, Connecticut, March 26, 1740. Son of Governor Jonathan and Faith (Robinson) Trumbull. Educated at Harvard College. Married, March 26, 1767, Miss Eunice Backus. Died in Lebanon, August 7, 1809.

There are two Jonathan Trumbulls who occupy a high place in the history of the United States. One was that Jonathan Trumbull who did such great and effective service in the war for independence as Governor of Connecticut and as Commissary General in the army of Washington. It was that Jonathan Trumbull from whom we derive the title "Brother Jonathan," so often applied to the United States.

The second was the Jonathan Trumbull of this sketch, a son of the great war Governor. He, too, like his distinguished father, served gallantly and well in the Revolutionary War. He succeeded Alexander Hamilton as the confidential aide of General Washington. He also served his State as its Governor.

The family of Trumbull was among the early settlers in New England. In 1645 the first of the name came from England and settled at Ipswich, Massachusetts. Later one of them removed to Connecticut, making his home in Lebanon. This first one to come to Lebanon was the father of the first Governor Trumbull and grandfather of the second Chief Magistrate, the subject of this sketch.

Jonathan Trumbull, who was the Speaker of the House of Representatives in the Second Congress, early displayed a love of learning. At the age of fifteen he entered Harvard College, completing his course in four years. He left the college with a reputation among the faculty and his fellow-students as one of the brightest of his class. He was even then remarkable for his amiable manners and his studious traits. Leaving college, he returned to his native village, where he soon became popular with the people.

He was early called into the service of the public as a member of the State Legislature, where he became influential among the members. War clouds were looming in the distant horizon, darkening the political and social conditions among the people. Young Trumbull soon became a leader of those who talked of armed resistance to the mother country, and even then, incidentally, of future independence.

He was ardent of speech, filled with the fire of patriotism, and followed in the footsteps of his illustrious father. The war came. It came while he was still a member of the Connecticut Legislature, but he at once offered his services to the Continental Congress, then sitting in Philadelphia. He was appointed Paymaster to the army in the Northern Department, and later First Controller of the Treasury. He held those two positions until after the close of the campaign in 1778.

The death of his oldest brother, who had been Commissary General in the army, caused Jonathan to resign to give his attention to the settlement of his brother's public accounts. When this task was completed he again went to the army, and was made confidential secretary and aide to General Washington. This position he retained until the close of the war, enjoying the confidence and affection of his great chief, and the respect and esteem of all his brother officers.

Peace came; independence was secured, the army disbanded, and a new nation was to take its place among the governments of the world. Colonel Trumbull returned to Lebanon and to the bosom of his family, there to enjoy for a short time a release from public duties and responsibilities. It was said of him that he was especially happy in his domestic relations. Freed from public duties, he gave himself to his private concerns which had become somewhat involved during his long absence in the army.

The Confederation was proving a failure, and a "more perfect Union" was desired. To bring this about Colonel Trumbull devoted much of his time and influence. In 1788 he was again elected a member of the State Legislature, and was chosen Speaker of the House. A new constitution was offered to the people for their ratification. To this Colonel Trumbull gave his hearty assent, and threw the weight of his influence toward securing its ratification by the people of Connecticut.

When it came time to select members of the new Union under the constitution, Colonel Trumbull was elected a member of the House of Representatives. It was a great Congress, with great duties and obligations resting upon it. Among those great men, constructive statesmen as they were, Mr. Trumbull was one of the most active, acquiring a dominating influence, especially with the members from the New England States. He took a prominent part in the debates, but was specially active in committee work.

He was re-elected to the Second Congress, and when the House assembled was chosen Speaker. As Speaker he was affable and conciliatory. It was at the time when the people were beginning to divide into parties, first called "Strict Constructionists" and "Loose Constructionists," then Federalists and Anti-Federalists, and still later, Federalists and National Republicans. The sessions of the Second Congress were not as stormy as some of those which followed, but still there was a strong disposition on the part of some of the members to indulge in bitter speeches. These Speaker Trumbull held in check when he could do so without interfering with the freedom of debate.

He was a member of the Third Congress, but was not re-elected Speaker. Before the expiration of his term the Legislature of Connecticut elected him to a seat in the United States Senate. He held this

seat but two years, resigning in 1796 on being elected Lieutenant Governor of his State.

This position he held until by the death of Governor Wolcott he was elevated to the Chief Magistracy, a position he held until his own death, serving as Governor eleven years. During his service as Governor war was raging in Europe and the rights of the United States on the seas were continually ignored by the warring governments. To check this, and to compel Great Britain and France to recognize our rights on the seas, and to cease from their offensive acts, the administration undertook to enforce an embargo act. The embargo was but lightly enforced in some parts of the country, and in others wholly ignored.

To remedy this Congress passed a law to secure its more rigid enforcement. The President was empowered to call upon the Governors of the several States to assist in its enforcement. Such a call was made upon Governor Trumbull by the Secretary of War, acting under the instructions of the President. As Commander-in-chief of the State militia he was requested to appoint some officer at each port of entry, with orders, when application was made to him by the collector, to immediately assemble a sufficient force of the troops under his command, and to employ them in maintaining and enforcing the embargo act.

This the Governor declined to do. He declared that in his opinion the law of Congress for the more efficient enforcement of the embargo was, in many of its provisions, unconstitutional; interfering with the powers reserved to the States, and endangering the peace and safety of the community. He stood steadfast to his position.

In this attitude he was supported by the people of Connecticut. It was, indeed, the forerunner of the famous "Hartford Convention" of a few years later. This was practically the closing scene of his public and political life, as he died a few months later. Of this grave event one writer says: "His death spread a general gloom, and filled the public mind with deep anxiety and regret. . . . Patriotism and friendship wept over his bier. Party forgot its opposition and asperity, and united to honor the sepulchre over his remains."

A few years ago one of the Historical Societies of Connecticut caused to be printed a short sketch of the life and character of Mr. Trumbull. In it the main characteristics of this distinguished man and patriot are thus given:

The disposition of his mind, and natural tendencies of his genius, led him to endeavor more to be useful than brilliant. He wished rather for esteem than applause, and his talents were less showy than solid. In public debate he never attempted to dazzle the understanding by rhetorical allusions, nor to silence opposition by the pomp and splendor of his eloquence. But he never failed to please by the gracefulness of his manner and elegance of his language, and command respect by propriety of argument, strength of judgment and extent of information.

He presided with peculiar felicity in deliberative assemblies. His polite attention, quickness of perception, and perfect acquaintance with the rules of proceeding, facilitated the transaction of business; while with graceful dignity he regulated debate, and softened the asperity of parties.

In private society his manners were peculiarly attractive. He appeared in the friendly circle with the look of cheerfulness, the smile of philanthropy, and the eye that sparkled with vivacity and intelligence. Accustomed to the best company, and skilled in all the politeness of the gentleman, he could adapt his discourse, with great facility, to the inclinations, topics and understanding of all classes of people; aiming rather to acquire than to display information; not to dictate in opinion, but to obtain advantage from the knowledge and experience of age, and amusement from the innocent gayeties of youth; to promote the rational and elegant pleasures of life, and the satisfaction of every social party, that was favored by his presence. He never attempted to engross conversation; nor sought admiration by brilliancy of fancy, or ostentation of learning and argument. He never affected to shine, and never failed to please.

Of punctuality in attendance on business, in the exact performance of his engagements, and in all his dealings with mankind, and in faithfulness in the prompt execution of every trust committed to his charge, he afforded an uncommon example. The duties and labors of every day were entered upon in regular order, and finished by its close, without hurry, confusion or embarrassment. Every account was adjusted, and all public correspondence answered in season. None could ever accuse him for delay or disappointment, and none ever went justly dissatisfied from his presence.

He excelled in all the duties of social life; as the consort, the parent, the neighbor, and the friend; as the generous patron of merit, the kind benefactor of the distressed, and the liberal encourager of every public institution, and every useful improvement.

The enterprising ambition and political art of the statesman, the bold imagination of the orator who rules the fate of kingdoms by his eloquence, and the intrepidity of the hero, rendered invincible by success, dazzle the eyes of the multitude with surprise and admiration, and afford the most brilliant themes of biographical eulogy. But strength of judgment and an enlightened understanding, the steady exertions of friendship and patriotism, and the virtues of a heart, regulating all its conduct by the principles of justice, morality and religion, can alone form the man of true greatness of character, and value in society. . . .

During the interesting period in which he held the chief magistracy of the State, his virtues commanded the highest respect, and awed the clamors of prejudice and opposition. In times when calumny assailed every man conspicuous in rank, and exposed with malignant invective the faults and failings of every public character, his political adversaries, though they opposed and censured the measures of his administration, never attempted to call in question the rectitude of his intentions, or to fix a stain upon his reputation.

Another, a contemporary, and one who knew him well in all relations of life, as a public officer, a private citizen, and in social life, thus wrote of him:

Governor Trumbull was the son of a man, who by the public acknowledgment was one of the most dignified and useful, one of the wisest and best Rulers, whose names adorn the pages of history. In the steps of this honorable Parent, the Son trode, through life, with an undeviating course. Soon after he had finished his education, he began to serve his country, first in the Legislature, and then in the Revolutionary army. Here, in respectable stations, he continued, with a short interruption, through the war. Soon after the establishment of peace he was chosen

again into the Legislature, of which he was regularly a member until the present American Constitution was adopted. He then was elected a Representative, and soon after a Senator of the United States. From the last station he was removed to the second, and then to the first Chair of Magistracy in his native State. To the latter he was annually elected by his fellow citizens, until he was removed by death. In all these situations, he acquired, uniformly, the approbation and respect of those with whom, and of those for whom he acted. Not a spot is left upon his memory; distracted as was the season of his public life, and difficult as was the task of satisfying the demands of those whom he served. Such a career, only honorable to himself, and only useful to his country, is a proof of his worth, which can never be assailed by hostility, questioned by criticism, nor impaired by time. Experience has assayed the ore, and proved it to be pure gold. On it his country has authoritatively stamped the image, and inscribed the testimony of her own approbation; and has thus given to it an undisputed currency through the world.

Contented to view men and measures as they were, his mind annexed to them nothing adventitious; neither light nor shade; neither beauty nor deformity. He chose to see everything in its native colors; and in this manner saw it with a truth and correctness which no sanguine man ever attained. To this mode of contemplating every subject all his plans and measures were conformed. They were, therefore, universally the plans and measures of sound, unbiased common sense; and never the dream of fancy, nor the headlong projects of inconsiderate ardor.

Governor Trumbull was a man of deep religious sentiments, and carried his religion into his daily life. Justice seems to have been the guide of his actions, and although many criticised his actions and the stand he took in defying the general government in the matter of enforcing the embargo law, yet all his contemporaries, whether of his own or of the opposite party, credited him with a sincere belief in the righteousness of his actions.

JONATHAN DAYTON

JONATHAN DAYTON—Speaker of the House of Representatives in the Fourth and Fifth Congresses. Born at Elizabethtown, New Jersey, October 16, 1760. Son of General Elias and Hannah (Rolfe) Dayton. Educated at Princeton College. Died in Elizabethtown, New Jersey, October 9, 1824.

Jonathan Dayton was graduated from college at the age of sixteen years. Young as he was, he at once joined the army of independence, and was made paymaster in the regiment commanded by his father. He served throughout the Revolutionary War with great gallantry. He served on the staff of General Sullivan, and then on that of Lafayette, winning high praise from the latter for gallantry in action. At one time he was captured by the British, but was soon exchanged, when he again went to the front.

He was a man of brilliant parts, and even before the close of the war when independence was won he became active in the politics of the day. A lawyer by profession, he acquired the faculty of ready speak-

ing, winning distinction as an orator. The close of the war brought forward the great question of the future of the new nation. The States were held together by very slender threads, and the Congress was compelled to rely almost wholly on the whim of the thirteen individual States. This weakness was felt even before independence was finally won, but it became manifest more and more as the country drew away from actual war. The necessity for some change was early recognized, and an agitation in that direction sprang up in each of the States.

General Elias Dayton, father of the subject of this sketch, was one of the leading citizens of New Jersey. He had been prominent before the war, and his conduct during the struggle with the mother country intensified his popularity with the people. When the agitation for a stronger Union began, he at once took the lead of it. Jonathan also became active and did not confine his labors to speechmaking, but used every effort in private conversation to urge the patriots of New Jersey to unite heart and soul in the cause of a stronger Union.

In this he was very successful, and he took rank among the leaders in this movement. When it came time to select delegates to the convention to frame a constitution, General Dayton was the first to be chosen. He declined the position in favor of his son Jonathan, who was promptly named for the place.

He was the youngest man in the convention, and at the same time one of the most active. He made a number of short speeches on the various propositions submitted for consideration. He favored the plan of Hamilton, or rather the theories of that distinguished statesman. He favored a strong central government, a government with ample power to maintain itself and to place the country in a favored position among the nations of the earth. His activities and his mental grasp of the situation won for him the friendship of such great men as James Madison and Alexander Hamilton. The Constitution was perfected and signed by most of the delegates to the convention, Jonathan Dayton being the youngest man to sign that immortal instrument, the instrument declared by a great statesman of England to be the most perfect system of government ever devised by the brain of man.

On his return to New Jersey he at once became active in preparing the people to ratify and accept the Constitution just framed. New Jersey was the third State to ratify the Constitution, and it was done by a unanimous vote of the convention. It made no recommendations or suggested no amendment, but took the instrument as it came from its makers. This unanimity was largely due to the influence of Jonathan Dayton and his father.

He was elected to the Second, Third, Fourth and Fifth Congresses, serving as Speaker in the Fourth and Fifth Congresses. He was a Federalist in politics, and of the very strongest kind. Frederick Muhlenberg, who had served as Speaker in the Third Congress, was not

strong enough in his political leanings to suit the followers of Hamilton. This was the last session under the administration of President Washington, and "Strict Constructionists" were developing a strength that alarmed the Federalists, or "Loose Constructionists," and Muhlenberg had given evidence of a leaning toward the Jeffersonian wing. The Federalists had a majority in the House, so they set Muhlenberg aside and gave the place to Dayton. He was then but thirty-five years of age. He had been active in the Third and Fourth Congresses as one of the champions and defenders of Hamilton. He had supported the President in every measure of the administration.

His prestige of having been a member of the convention which framed the Constitution and his acknowledged gifts of oratory made him prominent in the House at his first entrance as a member. On numberless occasions questions arose in the House as to the true interpretation of some provision of the Constitution, and Representative Dayton was always called upon to give his version. So clear was his statements and so strong his reasonings that his interpretation was accepted without question in nearly every instance.

He was very active in debate, taking part in almost every one. Even when Speaker he took advantage of the House being in Committee of the Whole to press his views on his colleagues. A number of perplexing questions were before Congress while he was a member, one of them being the treaty negotiated by Mr. Jay with Great Britain. It was very obnoxious to a great number of Americans, and when the House was called upon to appropriate the money necessary to carry it into effect it aroused the most bitter opposition, a number of members indulging in hard words toward President Washington.

Mr. Dayton, although Speaker, took an active part in the discussions, making several speeches, some of them at considerable length. Of one of those speeches the Annals of Congress gives the following report:

To those, he said, who regarded this second treaty with Great Britain with disagreeable sensations—to those who believed that it did not contain in its such terms as the United States had reason to expect, and even a right to demand—to all those whose indignation had been excited at the unwarrantable outrages committed by that nation upon the rights of our neutral powers, who had seen their high-handed acts with astonishment, and the whole conduct of their administration toward this country with abhorrence—to those whose attachment for the French, nobly struggling for their liberties, was sincere, and who ardently wished their revolution might terminate in the establishment of a good and stable government—to all of this description he could, with propriety, address himself and say that he harmonized with them in opinion, and that his feelings were in perfect unison with theirs. But if, he said, there should be found in that assembly one member whose affection for any other nation exceeded that which he entertained for this, whose Representative he was—if there could even be found a single man whose hatred to any other country was greater than his love for America—him he would consider as his enemy, hostile to the interests of the people who sent

him there, utterly unqualified to judge rightly of their concerns, and a betrayer of the trust reposed in him. He could not believe it possible there were any such among them, and he was convinced that everyone must see and feel the necessity of divesting himself of all his hatred, all his prejudices, and even all attachments that were in the least degree inconsistent with an unbiased deliberation and decision. The good and the prosperity of the people of the United States ought to be the primary object. It was that alone which their Representatives were delegated and commissioned more immediately to promote, and who would deny that it was intimately connected with and involved in the vote they were about to give.

Mr. Dayton concluded his lengthy address by saying that, although he was not pleased with many parts of the treaty, yet he should vote for the resolution appropriating the money because he loved his country, and to that love would sacrifice every resentment, every prejudice, every personal consideration. He said he should vote to carry the treaty into effect with good faith, because he sincerely believed that the interests of his fellow-citizens would be much more promoted by that than by the opposite line of conduct.

Mr. Dayton also favored and supported the system of taxation devised by Mr. Hamilton. This system was violently opposed by many of the members, especially by those from the Southern States. They held it was an encroachment on the rights of the States in a number of its provisions. As is known, the system, when adopted by Congress, had to run the gauntlet of the courts as to certain of its provisions. The courts held the system, in its entirety, in harmony with the rights and powers conferred on Congress by the Constitution.

As Speaker he was always dignified. He was a partisan Federalist, but the opposition never charged him with being unduly partial in his rulings. While in the Second and Third Congresses he had been a frequent speaker, taking part in all the major debates; in the Fourth and Fifth Congresses he rarely addressed the House, except when called upon for an interpretation of some provision of the Constitution.

The Fifth Congress was the first under the administration of President John Adams, one of the most radical of Federalists. There had been occasional opposition in the House in the preceding Congresses to the administration of President Washington, but under Adams the opposition was almost continuous. Hamilton's administration of the Treasury Department was a constant subject of attack by the friends of Jefferson, and it was hard for Mr. Dayton to steer clear of embarrassments as Speaker, owing to his devotion to the Hamiltonian theories. He was not only a warm, personal friend of Mr. Hamilton, but he was a firm believer in his integrity as a public official and an equally firm advocate of his doctrine of "implied powers." According to the Annals of Congress, there were occasional flurries against the Speaker over some ruling, but they were never very serious.

At the close of the Fifth Congress, Mr. Dayton retired from the House, having been elected a member of the Senate. In that body

he served a full term of six years. In the Senate, as had been the case in the House, Mr. Dayton was frequently called upon for his interpretation of some part of the Constitution. He joined in other debates, but did not wield the influence on the other Senators he had wielded in the House. He served the first four years of the administration of President Jefferson. While in the Senate President Adams had given him a commission as brigadier general at the time it was believed war with France was imminent. The war failed to develop, and Mr. Dayton resigned, that he might hold his seat in the Senate.

Retiring from the Senate at the end of his term, he returned to the practice of law. In 1807 he was arrested for being concerned in the plots of Aaron Burr. The two had been boyhood friends and had served in the army together. How deeply he was concerned in the plotting of that brilliant conspirator was never made known, as Mr. Dayton was released without a trial. It was known, however, that he was on the most intimate terms with Burr, and had met him at Cincinnati on one of Burr's tours of the West, and that he was closely connected with Burr's conferences with Mr. Merry, the British Minister at Washington. In Merry's correspondence with his government he often mentioned Mr. Dayton. Mr. Dayton was also frequently the agent of Burr in communications with Marquis of Casa Yrujo, the Spanish Minister. The most of Dayton's efforts seem to have been confined to efforts to get money from one or the other. In fact, it has never yet been developed what Burr's scheme really was. Dayton must have been trusted by Burr, so far as Burr could or did trust any man, but it is doubtful if he knew Burr's real designs. That he did believe Burr had some designs on both Mexico and Louisiana is evidenced by a letter he sent to General Wilkinson by Peter V. Ogden. In that letter the following paragraph occurs:

It is now well ascertained that you are to be displaced in next session. Jefferson will affect to yield reluctantly to the public sentiment, but yield he will. Prepare yourself, therefore, for it. You know the rest. You are not a man to despair, or even despond, especially when such prospects offer in another quarter. Are you ready? Are your numerous associates ready? Wealth and glory! Louisiana and Mexico! I shall have time to receive a letter from you before I set out for Ohio—Ohio.

It is not pleasant to recall such things, especially when they touch so nearly a man who, like Jonathan Dayton, had served the country so well in so many different spheres. But no good can be accomplished by keeping them back. Prior to 1805 the career of Mr. Dayton had been one of exalted service to the country. No one had ever challenged his patriotism or his integrity. He had been deservedly popular with the people of New Jersey and with his colleagues in the House and Senate. So popular was his first service as Speaker that he was re-elected by the next House by a vote of 78 to 2.

Although he was never brought to trial for his connection with Burr, it clouded his whole after life. He remained at Elizabethtown and there practiced law, but never again held a public office.

Mr. Dayton became largely interested in the development of the Ohio Valley, joining with Symes and others in this. He invested much of his means in the purchase of lands and in opening them for settlement. The city of Dayton, Ohio, is named for him.

GEORGE DENT

GEOERGE DENT—Speaker for two days in Fifth Congress. Born in St. Charles County, Maryland, about 1760. Classical education. Died in St. Mary's County, Maryland, October 15, 1842.

All that can be found as to George Dent, who served as Speaker of the House of Representatives for two days, during the absence of Speaker Jonathan Dayton, is contained in a short paragraph in the Biographical Congressional Directory. It reads:

Pursued classical studies; held several local offices; was first lieutenant in Capt. Thomas Hanson's company in Charles County in 1776, and served as a private in the first regiment Maryland line from May 25, 1778, until his discharge on April 3, 1779; elected as a Democrat to the Third, Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth Congresses (March 4, 1793-March 3, 1801); elected Speaker pro tempore April 20, 1798 (during the illness of Speaker Dayton), and served two days; appointed United States Marshal for the Potomac District by President Jefferson in 1801. Died in St. Mary's County, Maryland, October 15, 1842.

THEODORE SEDGWICK

THEODORE SEDGWICK—Speaker of the House of Representatives in the Sixth Congress. Born in West Hartford, Connecticut, May 9, 1746. Son of Benjamin and Ann (Thompson) Sedgwick. Educated at Yale College. Married Eliza Mason, Pamela Dwight, and Penelope Russell. Died in Boston, Massachusetts, January 24, 1813.

A soldier in the Revolutionary army; twice a member of the Massachusetts Legislature; twice a delegate to the Continental Congress; again a member of the Massachusetts Legislature for two years; a delegate to the convention called to ratify the Constitution of 1788; a member of the National House of Representatives in the First, Second, Third, and Fourth Congresses; a short term in the United States Senate; member of the House of Representatives and Speaker in the Sixth Congress; Judge of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts. Such is the public record of Theodore Sedgwick—patriot, soldier, statesman, and jurist, serving with distinguished ability in every sphere. Yet he is given only a paragraph in the encyclopedias, and what is more to be

regretted, Massachusetts, the State he served so long and so well, has failed to place on permanent record the story of his life and services.

Something of his activities while a member of the National House of Representatives can be gleaned from the meager reports of his speeches found in the Annals of Congress. From those reports, meager and unsatisfactory as they often are, some estimate can be formed of his talents, his temperament, and his influence in shaping legislation. But as to the man himself, his relations to his fellow men, nothing can be obtained from that source.

He was born in Connecticut, and after receiving a classical education began the study of theology. This he later abandoned and took up the study of law. Having received his degree and being admitted to the bar, he removed from Connecticut to Massachusetts, beginning the practice of his profession at Barrington, removing later to Sheffield. Of his success, there is nothing of record to give us an idea, but in Congress he was regarded as a profound lawyer, and his eminent service as Judge of the Supreme Court gives us a right to believe he was at least ordinarily successful in practice.

It was at the opening of that era which "tried men's souls." The Colonists were agitating resistance to the oppressions of King George and his Parliament. Into this agitation young Sedgwick entered with all the ardor and enthusiasm of youth. Possessing special talents as a speaker, he was frequently called upon to address meetings of the patriots. He soon won popularity with the people, a popularity he retained to the end of his life. The war came, and young Sedgwick joined the army, taking part in the unfortunate and ill-advised expedition to Canada in 1776.

When peace came he resumed the practice of his profession, but in 1782 he was elected a member of the Massachusetts Legislature, serving two years. He was twice sent to the Continental Congress, and was active in support of the movement for a closer and more perfect union of the States. He was one of those who recognized the weakness of the bonds which then held the States together, and that a stronger central government was needed and must be organized if the new nation was to ever be able to defend itself from its enemies.

The Constitution of 1788 being formulated and submitted to the people, Mr. Sedgwick began an active campaign for its ratification. He was elected a delegate to the convention called in Massachusetts to consider the subject, and there favored an immediate and cordial ratification of the instrument.

In politics he was a Federalist. He believed in the Hamiltonian theory of government, and wished that the new government be made stronger than it was in the Constitution as finally adopted and ratified, but not obtaining all he desired he enthusiastically placed himself among those who would accept the Constitution as it was, and would

stand by the Union formed under it. He was elected a Representative to the First Congress, and three times re-elected, resigning his seat in the Fourth Congress to accept an appointment to the Senate to fill a vacancy occasioned by the resignation of the sitting member.

In the House he was a champion and defender of Alexander Hamilton, Secretary of the Treasury. All that was needed to get him on his feet with an impassioned speech was for some member of the House to attack his political idol. He accepted Hamilton's idea of "implied powers," and the financial policy which followed. He sustained these with all the power of his logic and eloquence on the floor of the House.

In the House were a number of members who held to the Jeffersonian theory of "strict construction," and the attacks upon Hamilton were frequent. Especially was his policy of establishing a national bank obnoxious to them. They were in constant fear that the central government, if permitted to be as strong as Hamilton desired, would sooner or later interfere with the rights of the States. Hence, their desire to strangle the Hamilton idea at its birth.

Among the most violent and persistent of the strict constructionists was Nathaniel Macon, of North Carolina. He not only disagreed with Hamilton as to the powers of the government, but appeared to be animated with a hatred toward that great master-mind of finance. He repeatedly attacked the Secretary, and on more than one occasion strongly intimated there was corruption in the administration of the Department of the Treasury. The tilts between Macon and Sedgwick were often of almost daily occurrence. The Massachusetts member was a veritable thorn in the flesh to the gentleman from North Carolina. While never actually offending against strict parliamentary rules, his language sometimes bordered very close to the line.

During his four terms in the House, Mr. Sedgwick had established himself as one of the leaders of the Federalists, and when a vacancy occurred in the Senate, the Governor of Massachusetts at once named him for the vacancy. He served in that body a little short of two years, but long enough to give him an opportunity to once more come to the defense of Hamilton.

Re-elected to the House, he was chosen Speaker in the Sixth Congress, defeating his political enemy, Nathaniel Macon. The Sixth Congress was one of many exciting things. It was the first to hold its sessions in the new capital of the country—Washington. It was to decide who was to be President—Thomas Jefferson or Aaron Burr.

As Speaker, Mr. Sedgwick was firm, and sometimes rather positive and aggressive in his rulings. There was little of the conciliatory element in his mental makeup. He had been born and reared in a puritanical atmosphere, and there was much of the puritanical intolerance in his administration.

During his incumbency of that office there was one occurrence which angered him to the very depths of his being, but which furnished a subject of laughter and amusement to many of the other members. In those days there was no gallery set apart for the use of representatives of the press. In fact, there were only two or three papers which made any pretense of publishing the proceedings in Congress in anything like detail. There was one paper, however, that, by its strictures on Hamilton and its editorial comments on some of his rulings, had angered the Speaker. It was the only paper which sent its reporter daily to the House. He had been permitted to keep a small table in the rear of the Hall. One day when he appeared he found his table out in the corridor, and he was refused admittance to the chamber of the House by the doorkeeper, that official explaining it was by order of the Speaker.

The reporter was a genuine member of the craft, and was not to be put down by so small a thing as an order from a Speaker. He shouldered his table, slipped up the stairway and ensconced himself in the gallery; he selected a point where he would not be in view from the Speaker's desk.

As might be expected, his reports were a little more vivid than previously, and it was said they were a little more full than before. The Speaker was amazed when he saw the paper and found the full report of the proceedings of the House, and wondered how the report was obtained. This went on for several days before the Speaker learned of the hide-away in the gallery. His anger was deeper than before, and he at once issued an order excluding the reporter from the gallery. The matter was taken before the House and an angry debate followed. The Speaker stuck to his guns and the reporter was left out in the cold.

What made the matter more amusing to the outsiders, and more offensive to the Speaker, was what followed during the voting for President. The sessions of the House during the balloting were held behind closed doors, like executive sessions of the Senate are to this day. Secret sessions had no terrors for that reporter, and every morning his paper appeared with a full and complete report of the balloting, giving the vote of each State. An effort was made to discover where the leak was, but the reporter was very ignorant on every phase of that subject.

Jefferson and Burr had received the same number of electoral votes, and, as the Constitution then read, the House was called upon to decide which of the two should be President. The Federalists did not like either of them, and at first there was a strong effort by some of the leaders to give the preference to Burr. It was not because they actually preferred Burr, but had hopes by putting him ahead of Jefferson they would weaken their political foes. Speaker Sedgwick was long

accused of being deep in this plot. The real truth of the charge was never established.

Leaving Congress, Mr. Sedgwick was made one of the Judges of the Massachusetts Supreme Court. There he displayed qualities of the highest order. He was fearless and upright in his decisions. It was a decision rendered by him which declared that slavery and the Massachusetts constitution were incompatible; that under the constitution involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, could not exist in that State. This was the first of the decisions against slavery in the Northern States.

Mr. Sedgwick was a partisan of the strongest kind. This is evidenced by the speeches he made in the House. He was an ardent supporter of the administrations of Presidents Washington and John Adams. As Speaker he was firm but not always judicious. No taint ever was fastened upon him. His integrity was of the sternest kind. That was displayed both as a member of Congress and as a Judge on the bench. He was unfortunate that his partisanship was of so strong a nature that the House refused to give him the accustomed vote of thanks at the close of his term as Speaker. This neglect made a sour and disappointed man of him.

He was one of the builders of our government. He served in Congress in the constructive days, when all things had to be thought out and put in practice. His patriotism was unquestioned, and, as a rule, he was wise and prudent in advocating or opposing measures presented for consideration. It may be said of him, as it was of another: "Gallant as a soldier, wise as a legislator, just and upright as a jurist."

Mr. Sedgwick was a firm believer in what in these days we characterize by the one word, "Preparedness." We were having trouble with the Barbary Powers, and at the same time trouble with France was looming up. Congress had passed an act providing for the building of a number of new frigates. At the next session an attempt was made to reduce the number to be built. The "pacifists" of those days were opposing anything which looked like a measure of protection, or of asserting the rights of American citizens. In one of his short speeches on the subject he declared that to reduce the number of frigates to be built would render the United States an object of ridicule to foreign countries, and eventuate in our having to purchase peace with Tunis and Tripoli at a cost far exceeding that needed to construct the frigates.

The debate in the House over the Jay treaty was one covering many days, and all shades of opinion concerning the rights and powers of the House were ventilated. At one time a resolution was offered calling on the President to lay before the House a copy of the instruction which had been given to Mr. Jay when he was sent to negotiate the treaty. This was strenuously opposed by the friends of the administration.

Among others Mr. Sedgwick took part in the debate. He began one address with the pertinent statement that he considered it one of the most important questions ever before the House; that the question really was, "Whether this House should, by construction and implication, extend its controlling influence to subjects which were expressly, and he thought exclusively, delegated by the people to another department of the Government." As to the rights and powers of the several departments of the Government, he said: "If either should usurp the appropriate powers of another, anarchy, confusion, or despotism must ensue; the functions of the usurping power would not be legitimate, but their exercise despotism. If the power of controlling treaties was not in the House, the same spirit which might usurp it might also declare the existence of the House perpetual, and fill the vacancies as they should occur."

NATHANIEL MACON

NATHANIEL MACON—Speaker of the House of Representatives in the Seventh, Eighth, and Ninth Congresses. Born in Warren County, North Carolina, December 17, 1758. Son of Gideon and Priscilla Macon. Educated at Princeton College. Married, October 9, 1783, Miss Hannah Plummer. Died at Macon Manor, Warren County, North Carolina, June 29, 1837.

For more than a third of a century Nathaniel Macon was a political power in North Carolina, practically for much of that time dictating not only the policy of his party, but naming the candidates. He was elected thirteen times a member of the National House of Representatives, and then served twelve years as a member of the Senate.

During six of the years he served in the House he was the Speaker of that body. He exercised great influence in both the House and the Senate. This is something remarkable, for usually he was in what might be termed "the Opposition"; that is, opposed to the administration. John Randolph said of him: "He is the best, the purest, the wisest man I ever knew."

Under the light of events as we can see them now, he would hardly be counted one of the wisest men of the country. The wise statesman is the one who can look forward into the future and determine the effect of a proposed policy in the years to come, as well as to its immediate effect. Also, the wise statesman can take a comprehensive view of the country as a whole.

In both those respects Mr. Macon failed. His legislation, his policy, was always for that present time. Nor could he take into his heart the country as a whole. His view was narrowed to the South. He actually hated New England, and could not bring himself to legislate or adopt a policy that would benefit the people of that section of the

country. Yet, viewing his whole record, taking in his thirty-six years of service in the National Legislature, he was a great man.

The Macon family were of French Huguenot descent. In coming to America they first settled in Virginia, and many of their descendants still reside in the Old Dominion. Gideon, the father of the subject of this sketch, emigrated to upper North Carolina in the first half of the eighteenth century. Upper North Carolina seems to have been a favorite place for migrating Virginians. This migrating Virginian was not then among the wealthy planters, but was able to take up a few hundred acres on the south side of Roanoke River. There he erected a rather pretentious house, to which he gave the name of Macon Manor, although it was of small dimensions. It is said that it was the first house in that part of North Carolina to be supplied with glass windows.

The farm or plantation opened up by this Gideon Macon consisted of some five hundred acres of land, on which the main product was tobacco. From time to time he was able to purchase a negro slave, until he finally became owner of some fifteen or twenty. It appears that before his death he was able to become the owner of some three thousand acres of land. His wife, the mother of Nathaniel, was a woman of more than ordinary strength of character; indeed, a woman of much force, possessing executive ability of high order. Nathaniel was the sixth child born to them, and was but five years old when his father died, leaving him to the sole care and direction of his mother. Most excellently did she care for him.

Mr. Macon has been unfortunate in his biographers. They seldom agree as to dates, and frequently differ very materially as to facts and incidents of his career. It is difficult at this date to sift out and reconcile the contradictory statements. There is little in any of them as to the boyhood of young Nathaniel. His mother recognized that her son possessed rare abilities which, if properly nourished and directed, would, in the end, give him a high place among his fellow men. She engaged for him the teaching services of a prominent Episcopal clergyman, who fitted him for college.

When it came time for him to select the college where he was to finish his education, the choice fell on Princeton, which he entered at fifteen years of age. Little is recorded as to his college life. He may have had some ambition for himself, and some vague dreams of a future full of usefulness to his country; but if so, he gave no evidence of it, so far as was known to his family or friends. It is stated that his choice of associates while in college tended toward those of more mature years than of those of his own age. He was a thoughtful boy, interested more in the farming conditions of his section of the country than in politics.

His education, if we are to judge from his after-career, was good, although he did not complete his collegiate term. It was substantial rather than showy, thorough as to what was covered. His short collegiate career was at a time when the country was torn over the exactions of the mother country, when the Colonists were talking of armed resistance. Just what part, if any, he took in the discussions about the doings of Parliament is not disclosed by any letters of his that were preserved. North Carolina, at that time, was mostly loyal to the King, and some of the family of our subject actually took service in the armies endeavoring to overawe the Colonists.

Young Nathaniel joined a company of militia while still a student at Princeton. If he did anything more at that time for the future independence of America, it is not known. The war, and the talk of war, soon absorbed the attention of faculty and students, and the college was closed. Nathaniel had been in college but two years when its closing turned his face again to his home on the Roanoke. He did not return to cast in his fortunes with those who were fighting for liberty. Instead, he entered an office to study law, a profession he never followed. In that quiet pursuit of knowledge he continued for the next three years. War was all around him; others were shouldering a musket or flashing a sword in the cause of the colonies, but young Macon took no part. So far as we can learn, he held, even then, strongly to the doctrine which afterward became known as "States Rights," for he believed the militia of North Carolina should not go out of the boundaries of that State, but if engaged at all in the struggle, it must be to repel invasion only.

To this attitude he strongly clung during all his after life. He was one of the last to give in his adhesion to the Constitution in 1788 because of the enlarged powers it gave to the central government. At every opportunity while in Congress he opposed the strengthening of the navy or of the army. He was, in his day, a pacifist of the most pronounced type.

His brother John, on the other hand, was an earnest advocate of resistance to Parliament, and early raised a company and joined the patriot army under Washington. Yet his attitude of quietly remaining at home somehow did not render him unpopular with his neighbors, and some of his biographers claim he was devotedly attached to the cause of the colonists. In 1780, before he was twenty-one years of age, he was chosen a member of the General Assembly of the State. When North Carolina was threatened with invasion, he did join a company of militia. Here, again, his biographers differ materially. Some claim he was present at Fort Moultrie when Charleston fell, and others declare he never left North Carolina. It is pretty well settled, however, that he did take part in the disastrous battle of Camden, when Gates was so disastrously defeated, and that he marched with

General Greene in his retreat across North Carolina. While he was with Greene he was summoned to attend the sessions of the General Assembly. This summons he refused to obey on the ground that he was in the army, and his presence at the front was necessary.

General Greene, hearing of this refusal, sent for him and inquired as to his reasons for not obeying the call of the Governor. It is reported that the young soldier retorted that he had on numerous occasions seen the faces of the British, but never their backs, and he intended to remain with the army until he did see the backs of the foe. This retort pleased the great General, but he argued that Macon could do more good to the cause at that time as a member of the General Assembly than by carrying a musket; that in the General Assembly he could materially assist in securing the supplies so badly needed by the army, and also money with which to pay the troops.

Macon listened to this appeal of his General, left the army, attended the General Assembly, and there, by his activities and energies, was instrumental in securing the supplies which enabled Greene to turn and face Cornwallis. If this is true, it mitigates, if it does not entirely wipe out, any strictures as to his remaining quietly at home while others were fighting.

Just what part he played in the General Assembly cannot be definitely determined, as the records of the General Assembly for that year were destroyed, but his activities during that year were made part of history by his friends in later urging him for a seat in the National House of Representatives. He was but a youth—had just arrived at the age of maturity when he took his seat, but was placed on important committees. The State was in a deplorable condition the treasury was empty, the currency debased. It was, indeed, a time when wisdom and firmness was necessary if the State was to be saved from anarchy. Young as he was, Macon took an active part in all of the proceedings, and there laid the foundation of his future usefulness to the country.

He was still a member of the General Assembly when peace and independence came. Then arose the pressing necessity of defining the position North Carolina was to take in relation to the other colonies and to the Continental Congress. Macon's patriotism was of an intensified local character. It was bounded by the lines of North Carolina. He was not a man to urge national measures. He favored State control of commerce and industry. It was before the days when Hamilton set up his theory of protection to American industry in levying customs duties, but Macon was a declared protectionist—that is, for North Carolina industries. From 1782 to 1786 he remained a member of the General Assembly, but little is known of his activities during those years. They were years of political fights for control.

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It was during those years he married. He made his home on a small plantation of some five hundred acres which had been willed to him by his father. He owned other lands, and his selection of the plantation chosen for his home was one of those inexplicable things so often occurring in his life. It was five miles from the nearest neighbor and the land was not as productive as others he owned.

On this plantation he built a new house, the most notable thing about it being the well-arranged wine cellar, which Mr. Macon kept always well stocked. He was increasing his wealth by raising tobacco. His popularity increased with the years, and in 1786 he was elected a delegate to the Continental Congress. This election he declined, giving as a reason the insufficient remuneration. It is said by one of his biographers that his real reason was his dislike to the continental system.

In 1792 Mr. Macon met with a great domestic loss in the death of his wife. Their married life had been very happy for twelve years, and Mr. Macon keenly felt the loss. He never married again. Of the three children born to them, one, the only son, died a few months after his mother.

When the Constitution of 1787 was before the people for ratification, Mr. Macon was one of its most earnest opponents. A convention to consider the question of ratification commenced its session on the 21st of July, 1788. A wordy wrangle took place, the Constitution, apparently, having few friends. It adjourned on the 2nd of August, after passing a resolution that a declaration of rights and certain amendments ought to be laid before Congress and a convention which might be called for amending the Constitution previous to its ratification by North Carolina. The resolution was adopted by a vote of 184 ayes to 84 nays. More than a year later another convention was held, and on the 1st of November, 1789, North Carolina ratified the Constitution. This was more than eight months after that instrument had gone into effect.

Mr. Macon was not a member of either of the two conventions on ratification, but he gave his influence against ratification. After giving his adhesion to the Constitution, Mr. Macon was elected to the Second Congress, thus beginning his national life. He was successively re-elected twelve times. His public career was to last for a period of thirty-seven years without an interruption. It was at the formative period of our government. His experience was wholly of a provincial character. Of international affairs he knew but little, and until his advent into Congress he had cared but little.

In Congress he arrayed himself among the most intense of those who opposed Nationalism. As had been his attitude when opposing the ratification of the Constitution, that of an intense advocate of State Rights, so was his attitude in Congress. Hamilton had just succeeded in securing the adoption by the general government of the debts

of the several colonies, and it was a sore spot to the Southern members. It was then Mr. Macon first took the dislike to New England he ever afterward displayed. At his first appearance he took part in the discussion as to how the message of the President should be received and answered. During the sessions of the First Congress the House had proceeded in a body to the residence of the President, and there gave him a resolution of thanks for his message. In our democratic days such a proceeding would be laughed at, but it was a serious thing in the days of Washington.

Mr. Macon at once took the side of Jefferson in his struggle with Hamilton. This practically put and kept him in opposition to the administration of Washington. He was found among the opponents of about everything the administration favored. He opposed Hamilton's funding policy, the proposed United States Bank, and his system of raising a revenue.

Throughout his career Mr. Macon seemed to have a faculty of stirring up a hornet's nest. And such was the case in his first distinctive act in the House. About the end of February he offered a resolution calling on the Secretary of the Treasury to lay before the House a statement of the balances remaining unpaid which might be due from individuals to the United States previous to the 4th day of March, 1789, the day the new government began its life, and whether any steps had been taken to collect the same, and also a statement of the sundry sums of public money which may have been intrusted to individuals previous to the 4th of March and had not been accounted for.

There had been insinuations that the money of the public had been used to influence legislation, and to secure the ratification of the Constitution. No direct charges had been made, but it was an opportunity to stab Hamilton, and was seized upon. Hamilton's friends got unduly angry, but the whole thing was soon forgotten.

Almost from the beginning of Washington's administration there was a party in opposition. This party was led by Madison, Macon and Giles. Their main object was to drive Hamilton from the Cabinet. The opposition to the excise tax on whisky was beginning to manifest itself. That tax was peculiarly obnoxious to the people of Western Pennsylvania, Western Virginia and the mountains of North Carolina. It mattered not what question was under consideration, the opponents managed to turn it into an onslaught against Hamilton. In all these Macon took an active part, although he did not often address the House.

International matters were assuming a troublesome shape. War was raging in every part of Europe, and American rights on the seas were ignored by both of the battling sides. A bill was introduced to increase our army and to strengthen our coast fortifications, and to enlarge the navy personnel. All this was strenuously opposed by

Macon. He favored the increase of the militia of the States, rather than to strengthen the regular army. He was consistent throughout his whole public career in this opposition to the army and in his faith in the militia.

Mr. Macon could not by any means be called a great orator. In fact, he was not much given to speechmaking. His activities were largely confined to personal efforts. He steadfastly opposed everything that looked to him like wasting the people's money. It was during the first session of the Sixth Congress that a resolution was offered appropriating \$70,000 for the erection of "a mausoleum of American granite and marble, in pyramid form, one hundred feet square at the base, and of a proportionate height" in testimony "of the love and gratitude of the citizens of the United States to George Washington."

Against this resolution Mr. Macon made one of his few set speeches. "Can stones show gratitude?" he said. "If the nation wished to show gratitude, let them do it by making a history of the life of Washington a school book. Our children then will learn and imitate his virtues. This will be rendering the highest tribute to his fame by making it the instrument of enlightening the mind and improving the heart."

When Jefferson became President he gave Macon full control over the federal patronage in North Carolina. At first Mr. Macon was a steady follower of Jefferson, but his inclination to be in opposition led him to oppose some of Jefferson's favorite policies. When Jefferson proposed to turn the navy into gunboats, Macon opposed, but a few years later, when Madison wanted the navy increased, Macon wanted to turn the frigates into gunboats. In the contest in the House between Jefferson and Burr, Macon voted for Jefferson on every ballot of the North Carolina delegation, while his colleagues voted for Burr.

When the Seventh Congress assembled, Mr. Macon was promptly elected Speaker of the House. He had been a member of the five preceding Congresses, steadfastly growing in influence. Of this event Schouler, in his History of the United States, says: "Macon was a man of independent views and upright character, of frugal tendencies in public and private, not always in full sympathy with his party, but differing dispassionately when he differed at all, and so constantly re-elected as in later years to be called the Father of the House." His long service had made him fully acquainted with the history of the House, and his mind must have been stored with knowledge of all our relations, domestic and foreign.

Of his life in Washington at that time one of his biographers says: "He lived with Randolph and Joseph H. Nicholson in a small house near the Treasury Department in about such a style as a college boy with small means now lives."

The difficulties following the failure to elect a President in 1800 brought forth an attempt to amend the Constitution. The amendment

was pending in the House. It had met with strong opposition, and for some time it was doubtful whether the necessary two-thirds could be rallied in its favor. It came to a vote. Speaker Macon had kept careful count as the voting proceeded, and saw that one vote would be needed, so he ordered the clerk to call his name. Voting aye gave the amendment the required number to pass it.

Jefferson's first administration was only in its second year when Macon began to show signs of dissatisfaction. He was not strongly in favor of the purchase of Louisiana, and there was already talk of looking somewhere else for his successor. Jefferson himself had declared against the policy of giving a second term, and it was believed he favored Madison. Macon did not like Madison, and looking over the field was disposed to favor either Monroe or Gallatin, with the odds in favor of Gallatin. Macon had been lukewarm in the movement to impeach Judge Chase, and that was a pet measure with the President. There came up at the same time what are historically known as the "Yazoo Land Frauds," and coupled with an effort to compromise them. The chief claimants against the action of the Georgia legislature in annulling the grants were New Englanders, and that was enough to put Macon in opposition to the proposed settlement.

When the time approached for the meeting of the Ninth Congress it was feared by Macon's friends that he could not be again elected Speaker, and it was openly charged that the administration was endeavoring to bring about his defeat. The administration wanted an appropriation with which to purchase Florida. Macon, as usual, was opposed. Trouble was looming up with Great Britain. A resolution was presented suspending all commercial relations with Great Britain. Macon opposed. Not long afterward, when New England was petitioning for a repeal of the non-intercourse act, Macon was a convert to non-intercourse. It hurt only New England.

Jefferson saw the scheming to defeat his renomination, and in case he was defeated, to prevent Madison from becoming his successor, he set about placating Macon, Randolph and the other discontented ones, but Macon clung to his idea of elevating Gallatin, or, failing there, to elect Monroe. The effort to defeat Macon for the Speakership failed, but his success was by a very narrow margin—so narrow, indeed, as to convince him he could not again be elected. When the question of repealing the Embargo Act came up, Macon was found opposing the repeal with all his force. He declared himself in favor of passing a law for the more rigid enforcement of the embargo. He said, among other things: "I am now willing, and always willing, to go as far as any member of the House in the protection of the trade which fairly grew out of the agriculture and fisheries of the United States. I never will consent to risk the best interests of the nation for a trade which we can carry on only when Europe is at war." Meaning by this

the proposition to open to us the trade of the West Indies in return for certain concessions.

Mr. Macon had lost out on the Speakership, but had not lost his popularity with the people of his district. They continued to send him to Congress. He began his membership in the House in the Second Congress, and continued as a member until the close of the Thirteenth Congress. He then went to the Senate, where he served twelve years. He remained one of the foremost figures in the House during all the years after he lost the Speakership.

The outrages on American commerce were continued, and Mr. Macon became an ardent advocate for non-intercourse, but lost hope of effecting anything which would compel the warring European nations to respect the rights of the United States. At one time he introduced a proposition to disband our army entirely. He also sought to secure legislation for the sale of most of our naval vessels.

Among his other measures he introduced one to amend the Constitution so as to forbid the appointment of any Senator or Representative to any civil office under the United States during the time for which they had been elected to the Senate or House. It had become a custom to select for high offices Senators or Representatives, and Mr. Macon desired to break up the custom.

During his long career Mr. Macon had been a pacifist, opposing every proposition to enlarge the army, increase the navy, or strengthen our forts. He now suddenly changed around and joined with Clay, Calhoun and other war members. He could not, however, break entirely away from his peculiarities. He favored war, warmly favored it, but opposed the plan of the administration to prepare for war by increasing the army. He had a most unwavering confidence in the militia. Before the war he had warmly advocated an invasion of Canada, with a definite purpose of final annexation. War came and he opposed the invasion. Full of inconsistencies, he began to lose the influence with the other members which he had exercised for years.

While he was still serving in the House, he was elected by the Legislature to a seat in the Senate. This was an election to fill out an unexpired term, but he was elected later to a full term, and then re-elected. Changing to the Senate did not change his attitude nor his peculiarities. By this time the finances of the country had gotten into a most deplorable condition. Gold was almost unknown; bankruptcy was everywhere. But one way out of this awful situation could be devised. The Southern and Middle States were flooded with a depreciated currency; the States were not responsible for the bank issues they had permitted, and there was a deficit in the national treasury.

The Secretary of the Treasury proposed to Congress the establishment of a national bank. In this he closely followed the plan offered by Gallatin when he was at the head of the Treasury Department. It

was closely similar to the original plan of Hamilton. Macon was obstinate in his opposition, basing it upon what he claimed was its unconstitutionality. He offered no plan of his own to relieve the situation. He simply opposed.

The bank was established, and then Clay once more brought forward his internal improvement scheme. As usual, Macon opposed. Public confidence had been restored by the bank; the country had a uniform and stable currency and prosperity was seen everywhere. Instead of a deficit, there was now a surplus in the treasury, and Clay proposed to use that surplus in the construction of canals and roads. Macon proposed to use the surplus in discharging the national debt. The bill passed, but the President vetoed it.

Monroe followed Madison as Chief Executive. He was a believer in the one-party idea, and desired to unite the country in one party supporting the administration. In this idea he was joined by Macon. For a time they were apparently successful in this and produced what is known as the Era of Good Feeling.

Another serious question was looming before the people—the question that agitated the country until settled by the Civil War—that of slavery. Macon was one of the first to see this. He believed that the internal improvement scheme would eventually bring about the emancipation of the slaves by national legislation. On this he harped in his private correspondence and in his talks in the Senate. In a letter to one of his friends he said: “The South Country will be ruined. We have abolition, colonization, Bible and peace societies; their contentions cannot be known, but the character and spirit of one may, without injustice, be considered that of all—it is a character and spirit of perseverance bordering on enthusiasm. And if the general government shall continue to stretch their powers, these societies will undoubtedly push them to try the question of emancipation. . . . The States having no slaves may not feel as strongly as the States having slaves about stretching the Constitution, because no such interest is to be touched by it. The camp that is not always guarded may be surprised; and the people who do not watch their rulers may be enslaved. Too much confidence is the ruin of both.”

Thus early Mr. Macon saw the coming struggle, but he placed the sin wholly at the door of the Northern abolitionists without looking to those in the South who would push a claim to extend slavery everywhere. The fight loomed up when Missouri demanded admission to the Union. That question was settled for the time by the adoption of what is known as the Missouri Compromise. When that compromise was pending in the Senate, Mr. Macon put himself in opposition to it. He said: “All the States now have equal rights and all are content. Deprive one of the least right which it now enjoys in common with the others and it will no longer be content. . . . All the new States have

the same rights that the old have; why make Missouri an exception? Why depart in her case from the great American principle that the people can govern themselves? All the country west of the Mississippi was acquired by the same treaty, and on the same terms, and the people in every part have the same rights."

Of his attitude on this question one writer says: "Macon opposed the bill in all its phases to the last. It was to him what the Alien and Sedition Laws of 1798 had been—violation of the Constitution and a far more dangerous violation than had ever before been sanctioned."

The presidential campaign of 1824 was a memorable one. When it opened three members of Monroe's cabinet—Adams, Crawford and Calhoun—were candidates, with Andrew Jackson also in the race. Crawford received the caucus nomination, but the race was between Adams and Jackson. Macon was warmly a supporter of Crawford. His disappointment when the failing health of Crawford put him practically out of the running was very great. He then had to choose between Clay and Jackson, for Adams was from New England and nothing from that part of the country could command any liking from the irate Southerner.

He did not like Jackson. In fact he had no love for Clay, but Jackson's arbitrary action in Florida was too strong for him. Calhoun, with him, was not to be considered. Calhoun had voted for the new bank system, and was a protectionist so far as customs duties were concerned. Notwithstanding his opposition to the Hero of the Hermitage, North Carolina cast her full vote for him. Macon had lost much of his power and influence in the State.

When the Senate met in 1825 Mr. Macon recorded his last triumph. He was elected President pro tempore of that body. This triumph was not secured without a hard struggle on the part of his friends. It required seventeen ballots to elect.

As the presidential campaign of 1828 approached Mr. Macon was in a quandry. He disliked Adams, and was fearful of Jackson. He said in one of his letters: "It is only a scuffle for the Presidency, rather a scuffle for men than for principles, but this ought not prevent our trying to get the one we prefer, hence I go for Jackson."

Mr. Macon now retired from the Senate, sending in his resignation before the assembling of Congress in December, 1828. Of this retirement Mr. Benton, in his "Thirty Years' View," says:

Philosophic in his temperament and wise in his conduct, governed in all his actions by reason and judgment, and deeply imbued with Bible images, this virtuous and patriotic man, whom Mr. Jefferson called "The last of the Romans," had long fixed the term of his political existence at the age at which the Psalmist assigns for the limit of manly life. He touched that age in 1828; and, true to all his purposes, he was true to his resolve in this, and executed it with the quietude and indifference of an ordinary transaction. He was in the middle of a third term, senatorial term, and in the full possession of all his faculties of mind and

body; but his time for retirement had come—the time fixed by himself; but fixed upon conviction and for well-considered reasons, and inexorable to him as if fixed by fate. To the friends who urged him to remain to the end of his term, and who insisted his mind was as good as ever, he would not listen, but kept to his declared intention to resign. He lived nine years after his retirement in the enjoyment of the high respect of all who knew him, and died regretted by the people of his own State and of the nation at large.

While retiring from active official life Mr. Macon did not retire wholly from active participation in political affairs. He took an active interest in the election of Mr. Van Buren in 1836. He lived as a private citizen of ample means, entertaining his hosts of friends in the true Southern style. His home became a sort of Mecca in upper North Carolina. Every one visited him without ceremony. Death came to him suddenly. His eccentricity was displayed in the provision he made for his burial. He was buried on a barren knoll, by the side of his wife and son. The graves, in accordance with his directions, were covered with a heap of flint rock.

Mr. Macon was popular as Speaker of the House. He presided with dignity and ruled with impartiality. There is no better summary of his character than that given by Mr. Benton in his "Thirty Years' View":

In almost all strongly-marked characters there is usually some incident or sign, in early life, which shows that character, and reveals to the close observer the type of the future man. So it was with Mr. Macon. His firmness, his patriotism, his self-denial, his devotion to duty and disregard of office and emolument; his modesty, integrity and self-control, and subjection of conduct to the convictions of reason and the dictates of virtue, all so steadily exemplified in a long life, were all shown from the early age of eighteen, in the miniature representation of individual action, and only confirmed in the subsequent public exhibitions of a long, beautiful and exalted career.

JOSEPH BRADLEY VARNUM

JOSEPH BRADLEY VARNUM—Speaker of the House of Representatives in the Tenth and Eleventh Congresses. Born in Dracutt, Massachusetts, January 29, 1750. Son of Samuel Varnum. Limited education. Married Mary Butler. Died in Dracutt, September 21, 1821.

Joseph Bradley Varnum was one of the patriots of the Revolution, one of the builders of our present form of government. He served in the army that won our independence; in the legislature of his State, which fed the fires of patriotism and kept alive the spirit of liberty in the hearts of the people; in the National House of Representatives, where he was twice elected Speaker, and in the United States Senate, where he served one term as president pro tem. Then served the people of Massachusetts as Chief Justice of one of its major courts. In every place he served well.

Mr. Varnum was born, lived and died on the farm he received from his father. His father's means were limited, especially when Joseph

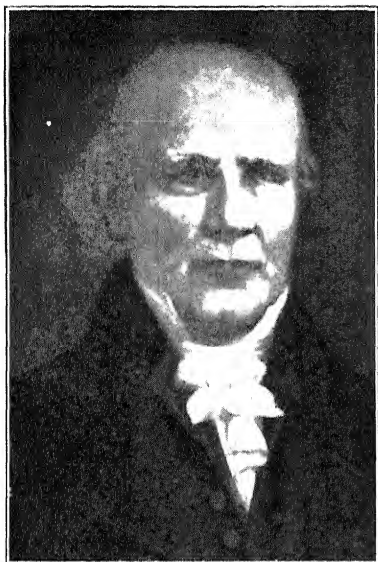
was a boy and he could not give him the educational advantages the youth longed for. From a very early period young Varnum had a definite purpose of life, and he did what he could with the meager opportunities at his command to fit himself for the position he aimed to attain. While spending his days in work on the farm, he gave a large part of the nights to study and reading, much of it by the light of the fire on the hearth.

He was said to be a thoughtful, studious boy, as he was afterward a thoughtful, sober-minded man. Even in the early days of our Republic men in public life were often the victim of the scandal-monger, the "yellow journalist," the "mud-slinger," but Joseph Varnum led such a life of probity and political virtue that no attacks were ever made upon him. When he was twenty-two years of age he took to himself a wife, with whom he lived in harmony for forty-eight years. On his marriage his father gave him a farm of 160 acres. Only a small portion of the farm was under cultivation, but this the young man, aided and encouraged by his wife, soon remedied. It is said of him that he was a practical and successful farmer. In a letter to his son, written in 1797, from Philadelphia, where he was serving in Congress, he thus speaks of the life of a farmer:

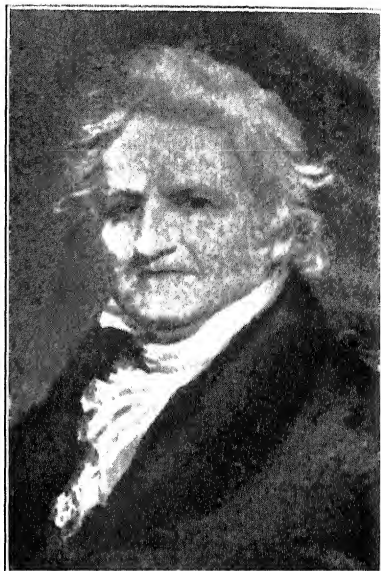
In order to Succeed in any profession or Occupation in life it is highly necessary and important to pay strict attention to the duties of it, and at all such times, as the nature thereof shall require. To be a Farmer, a consistent Farmer, happy in the Occupation, and respectable in Society, it is necessary to rise Early in the Morning, Pay Speedy attention to all necessary requirements, and take advantage of the Labours of the day, by performing the most arduous part, before the Sun arises to its Meridian Splendor. The strictest attention must be paid to the Buildings, Fences, Stock of Cattle, husbandry, tools, and every species of produce. All necessary repairs must be Early made. No part of the produce must be suffered to be wasted or lost for want of care. Thus the Farmer becomes wealthy, respectable and happy.

His first service for the public was in the military branch. He early displayed a taste for military life, and it is recorded of him that when he was but sixteen years of age he visited Boston day by day to watch the drilling and maneuvering of the British troops sent to that port to enforce submission to the laws of parliament. He put the information thus obtained to good use when in the army of independence.

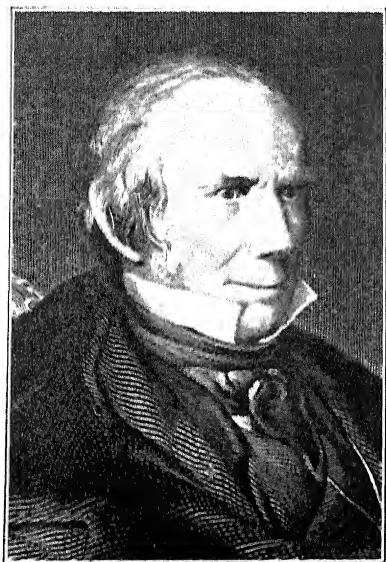
The Boston massacre aroused the good patriots of Dracutt, and two companies of militia were organized. Of one of these young Varnum was made Captain. He drilled it after the manner he had learned while watching the British troops in Boston. It was ready when the Provincial Congress in 1774 called for the enlistment of Minute Men. The company reorganized under that call, electing new officers, but retaining Varnum as instructor. In this capacity he continued to serve until the commencement of the Revolutionary War. He marched with the company to Lexington and took part in that famous battle.



NATHANIEL MACON, North Carolina
Seventh, Eighth and Ninth
Congresses



JOSEPH B. VARNUM, Massachusetts
Tenth and Eleventh Congresses



HENRY CLAY, Kentucky
Twelfth, Thirteenth, Fourteenth,
Fifteenth, Sixteenth and Eight-
teenth Congresses



LANGDON CHEVES, South Carolina
Thirteenth Congress

In January, 1776, the company was again reorganized and Varnum was chosen Captain. He held command of the company until April, 1787.

In the latter part of 1777 Captain Varnum and his company were sent to the Northern army, where they witnessed the surrender of Burgoyne, a surrender that marked the turning point in the war for independence. The next year he was sent to Rhode Island to join General Sullivan. The war for independence was won, but it left an aftermath of discontent throughout all New England. The people had been impoverished by the war, taxes were necessarily heavy, and the States had not been able to pay their debts. In Massachusetts the discontent rose to actual rebellion, led by one Daniel Shays.

The malcontents gathered in large numbers, marched from one county town to another to prevent the sittings of the courts, in order to prevent the trial and determination of suits where the judgments would be for the payment of money. Affairs at last grew so desperate that the Governor called out the militia and placed it under the command of General Lincoln. At that time Mr. Varnum was a member of the State Senate. He left his seat in the Senate and placed himself at the head of his company, marched to aid General Lincoln. It was in the depths of a severe winter and the troops suffered greatly. There is extant a letter written to Captain Varnum by General Lincoln which may be of interest to the reader. It is dated at Pittsfield, on the 12th of February, 1787:

Sir:—The business for which troops were ordered out seems to be pretty much over. Your services will be important, and are much needed in the General Court. It is, therefore, my wish that you assign your Company to ye next officer and meet the assembly as soon as possible. Your example in turning out on this occasion meets the esteem of your Country and entitles you to its thanks. Mine you have most sincerely.

With Great esteem I have the honor to be your ob't

Servant, B. Lincoln.

Mr. Varnum remained connected with the militia during the rest of his life. In 1787 he was made a Colonel, in 1802 a Brigadier-General, and in 1805 a Major-General. He retained his official relation with the militia while serving in Congress, first as a member of the House of Representatives, and then of the Senate. It was a matter of pride with him.

His civil service began in 1781. In that year he was elected a member of the State Legislature. He served in that body for four years, when he was elected a member of the State Senate. He served in that body until he was elected a member of the Fourth Congress. He was re-elected seven times, serving in all sixteen years. He was Speaker in the Tenth and Eleventh Congresses.

In his first election he had as his competitor Samuel Dexter, who afterward was Secretary of the Treasury during a part of the administration of the elder Adams. Mr. Dexter was a distinguished lawyer, and the acknowledged leader of the Federalists in Massachusetts. One of the issues before the people was the ratification of the Jay Treaty, a treaty that was exceedingly obnoxious to the people of the Bay State. In the election Mr. Varnum received a small majority, and an effort was made to prevent his taking his seat in the House. Several petitions were presented to the House protesting against his seating. It was alleged that he was one of the Selectmen of Dracutt and had allowed certain votes to be received and counted which were illegal. An investigation followed. The investigation was a complete vindication of Mr. Varnum.

Mr. Varnum entered the House at a time when politics was raging at fever heat. Jefferson was leading the National Republicans, but there was strife in the ranks. It was the last Congress while Washington was President. The Hamiltonian idea of constructive or implied powers in the Constitution had aroused great dissatisfaction, especially in the South, and Jefferson was leading the opposition in an effort to overthrow the adherents to that doctrine. In the House Mr. Varnum arrayed himself with the followers of Jefferson, and became one of the leaders of the New England wing of that party.

One of the questions bothering Congress at that time was that of direct taxes. The National Republicans opposed that system, holding that the revenue should be raised from customs duties and excise taxes alone. Very early in his service he made an elaborate speech on the tax questions. He said: "I am clearly of the opinion that any sums needed for defraying the expenses of the Government or for the payment of its debts ought to be raised by duties on imposts and excises. That is a method of taxation with which we are acquainted and which experience has taught us the operation of under the Government. There are almost insuperable objections to a direct tax, and until all the objects of indirect taxation are exhausted, I presume the Government will never adopt one."

He took an active part in nearly all the debates in the House, and many questions were up for debate. The country had not altogether become used to the restrictions of the Constitution, and the people were divided. One part held to a broad construction in the interest of the central government, while the other part demanded that it be construed with the greatest strictness, confining the central government to those powers only which were directly and specifically given. Mr. Varnum joined with the Southern strict constructionists.

It will be recalled that during the last days of the administration of President John Adams a bill was passed largely increasing the number of Federal Judges. This was an abomination in the eyes of

the Republicans, and its repeal was strenuously urged. Mr. Varnum made a most elaborate speech on the question as to the right of one Congress under the Constitution to repeal an act of a prior Congress establishing courts.

Jefferson's purchase of Louisiana brought another troublesome question, one to which he could not command the full support of his own party. It was proposed to erect Louisiana into two territories, the bill giving the President the selection of the legislature and council. Against this proposition Mr. Varnum quickly and emphatically placed himself. He denounced the whole system in the strongest terms and demanded an elective legislature. He took the strongest grounds on the rights of the people to govern themselves and to select their own officials. He said: "I am of the opinion that the bill provides such a kind of government as never has been known in the United States. Sound policy, no less than justice, dictates the propriety of making provision for the election of a legislature by the people. There is not only the common obligation of justice imposed on Congress to do this, but it is bound to do it by treaty. This treaty (with France) makes it obligatory to admit the inhabitants of Louisiana as soon as possible to the enjoyment of all the rights, privileges, advantages and immunities of citizens of the United States."

He also made an elaborate speech on the militia system of the country during the discussion of a bill providing for dividing the militia into two classes. To this he strongly objected. "The bill," he said, "embodies a system which has many times been before the House for consideration, and has always been found impolitic to adopt. I hope at this critical juncture that we shall not wholly disorganize the militia because some persons do not choose to submit to military discipline and the subordination essential thereto. I am ready to assert that if the system is adopted, that our militia will be broken up, as the States have laws now in force in conformity with the Act of 1792 for the organization of the militia, and under such laws are ready to act." The bill was killed.

During the sessions of the Eighth and Ninth Congresses the Republicans were divided into two factions. Nathaniel Macon, who was Speaker, insisted upon appointing John Randolph as Chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means. Randolph was arbitrary and dictatorial and bitter. He had made a number of enemies by his bitterness in debate, and his want of courtesy in speaking of other members. Speaker Macon was strongly urged by his friends in the Ninth Congress to substitute some other member of the party in place of Mr. Randolph at the head of that committee, but he stood by his friend from Virginia.

Before the end of that Congress it became very evident he could not again be elevated to the Speakership, but he remained as a candidate.

The opposition brought out Mr. Varnum, who was elected by a vote of 65 against 45 for Macon. He did not, however, command the whole strength of the opposition to Macon, for there were nine scattering votes. On taking the chair he overthrew Randolph as Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means. He appointed to that place George W. Campbell, of Tennessee, a most unfortunate appointment, and one that came near costing Mr. Varnum the Speakership in the next Congress. He was successful in being re-elected, but by only one vote. As a Speaker, Mr. Varnum presided with dignity and firmness, but did not escape charges of partiality on a number of occasions.

In 1811 Mr. Varnum was sent to the Senate. He was elected in place of Timothy Pickering. Mr. Pickering had been, first, Postmaster General in the administration of President Washington, and then his Secretary of State. This office he retained under President John Adams until that President summarily dismissed him on a charge of disloyalty to his chief. He was then sent to the Senate. As a Senator he had been a strong Federalist, sustaining all the measures of that party.

In the Senate Mr. Varnum was made Chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs, a very important committee at that juncture. Difficulties with Great Britain were rapidly driving the United States toward war with that country. He was one of those who urged the administration to prepare for war. It was during this season that the Giles militia bill was introduced against which Senator Varnum made his elaborate speech. Of this John Adams said: "Of all the supporters of the war Senator Varnum was one of the steadiest. He was also the highest authority in the Senate on matters pertaining to the militia."

He objected to the bill authorizing an army of 80,000 men for the following, among other, reasons: "Although the bill purported to call for an army of 80,000 men, yet in some of the subsequent sections of it we find that instead of realizing the pleasing prospect of seeing an ample force in the field, said force is to be reduced indefinitely, which is contradictory in terms, inconsistency in principle and uncertainty in effect, cannot fail to produce mortification and chagrin."

He served in the Senate until 1817. During a part of that service he was President pro tempore. At all times he sustained the President in the prosecution of the war with Great Britain. This cost him much of his strength with the people of Massachusetts, for the war was not popular there. His failure of re-election to the United States Senate did not terminate his public life, for the people of his county immediately sent him to represent them in the State Senate.

His decease was sudden. He was out riding one day, and, feeling indisposed, returned to his home. He called his family around him and notifying them he felt the end approaching, gave directions as to his funeral, selecting the pallbearers.

HENRY CLAY

HENRY CLAY—Speaker of the Twelfth, Thirteenth, Fourteenth, Fifteenth, Sixteenth and Eighteenth Congresses. Born April 12, 1777, in Hanover County, Virginia. Son of Rev. John and Mary (Hudson) Clay. Educated in the country schools. Married, April 16, 1799, Miss Lucretia Hart. Died in Washington, District of Columbia, June 29, 1852.

In the political history of the United States Henry Clay occupies a great space. From 1806, when he was sent to the United States Senate to fill the unexpired term of Senator Adair, who had resigned, until his death, nearly half a century later, he was continually in the public eye.

Great as an orator, great as a statesman, great as a party leader, and superlatively great in his Americanism, he stood for more than forty years without a successful rival in either capacity. He died without reaching the highest point of his ambition—the presidency—yet no statesman of his day, nor since, could muster so great a following among the people. “Gallant Harry of the West” was the idol of the people, and the country mourned at his death.

He exerted a much larger share in shaping national legislation than any statesman of his time. As one writer says: “He exercised this influence not as an originator of systems, but as an arranger, and as a leader of political forces.”

In this sketch of his life no attempt will be made to give the details in chronological sequence, but, for the convenience of the general reader, the topical order will be followed. His activities on several of the great issues of his time were scattered over a long series of years, and it would be difficult for the general reader to follow them if given in chronological order.

Henry Clay grew into greatness through his own natural talents, having been aided but little by fortuitous circumstances in his early life. In that respect, however, he was more fortunate than some other Americans who achieved greatness.

Of him Carl Schurz says: “Few public characters in American history have been the subjects of more heated controversy than Henry Clay. There was no measure of detraction and obloquy to which, during his lifetime, his opponents would not resort, and there seemed to be no limit to the admiration and attachment of his friends. While his enemies denounced him as a pretender and selfish intriguer in politics, and an abandoned profligate in private life, supporters unhesitatingly placed him first among the sages of the period, and, by way of defense, sometimes even among the saints.”

His youth was a struggle with poverty. His father was a Baptist clergyman of high standing in his community, serving a small and poor congregation. As were about all pastors in those days, he was poor

The people were poor, and pastors served for little wage. His mother was a woman of exemplary qualities as a wife and mother. Henry was the fifth of seven children born to his parents. When Henry was four years old his father died, leaving wife and children nothing save a good name. Worthy inheritance as it was, it did not save them from a hard struggle to secure food, clothing, and education.

What schooling Henry received was obtained in a country school, and that was irregular in time. When not at school the young lad had to work to aid in supporting the family. The neighborhood in which he lived was locally known as "The Slashes." A part of the work which fell to his lot was bringing flour or meal from the mill several miles away. To do this he often had to ride to the mill, with a rope for a bridle, and a sack of flour or meal for a saddle. This gave him the name of "Mill Boy of the Slashes," a name his admirers in later years were proud to call him.

A few years after the death of his father his mother took a second husband and the family removed to Richmond. The young lad found a kind and appreciative friend in his stepfather. He at first found a place for the boy as a clerk in one of the stores in Richmond. He was early impressed with the brightness of his stepson, and sought ways to advance him, finally succeeding in securing him a place in the office of the Clerk of the High Court of Chancery. While holding that position Henry was fortunate enough to make a friend of the great Chancellor Wythe. The Chancellor was a kind friend, indeed. He took young Clay into his office and there encouraged him to study law. He served four years as the Chancellor's amanuensis, studying law in his spare time. When fitted he was admitted to the bar.

He removed to Kentucky, deeming that State as furnishing a more promising opening for a young lawyer. He chose Lexington as his location, and there put out his sign as an "Attorney at Law." His manners were genial and he soon won clients, being especially successful in criminal cases. In Kentucky land titles were in a badly mixed condition, and furnished most of the litigation before the courts. Young Clay had his share of this litigation, which was much more satisfactory in a financial way than the criminal practice. He was a good but never a great lawyer. He lacked the studious habits required to produce a great lawyer.

Kentucky was famous for its eloquent orators, and, young as he was, Clay demonstrated that he was entitled to stand among the foremost in eloquence. It was not long until his popularity with the citizens of Lexington caused them to elect him a member of the State Legislature. There he was in his element. His established reputation as an orator made him at once prominent. One writer thus described him: "A tall stature; not a handsome face, but a pleasing, winning expression, a voice of which some of his contemporaries say that it was

the finest musical instrument they ever heard; an eloquence always melodious and in turn majestic, fierce, playful, insinuating, irresistibly appealing to all the feelings of human nature, aided by a gesticulation at the same time natural, vivid, large, and powerful; a certain magnificent grandeur of bearing in public action, and an easy familiarity, a never failing courtesy in private . . . and a noble, generous heart."

Kentucky was at that time divided on the question of providing for eventual emancipation of slaves. An amendment to the State constitution was pending before the legislature. Clay became an ardent advocate of the proposed amendment. All through his after life, though an owner of slaves, he expressed himself as opposed to the institution.

It was while he was a member of the legislature he became involved with Aaron Burr, an involvement that his enemies brought up against him many times in his after life. Burr had been arrested for treasonable practices and applied to Clay to act as his attorney. Clay believed him innocent, but caused Burr to give him a written declaration that he contemplated nothing against the peace of the country. This mattered not to his political enemies and they kept bringing it forward against him every time he was a candidate for President.

His popularity with the people of Kentucky was evidenced in 1806 when the legislature elected him to the United States Senate to fill an unexpired term, although he had not quite reached the age of eligibility to that high place. He took his seat in the Senate on the 29th of December that year, and almost at once became one of the leaders of that body. As a rule a new member of the Senate has to abide his time and wait while older members discuss matters of legislation. Not so with Mr. Clay. He at once threw himself heart and soul into the work, taking an active part in all the debates. It was during this first service in the national legislature he began his work for a system of internal improvement under the general government. It was a pet theory with him in all his later service. President Jefferson had suggested the use of the surplus in the treasury in building roads, improving waterways, etc. Mr. Clay ardently favored the suggestion, and during his short service in the Senate made a number of speeches in its support.

On his return to Kentucky at the close of his term he was again sent to the State House of Representatives, of which body he was made Speaker. It was during this session that he first announced his support to the protection theory in levying customs duties that had been one of Hamilton's favorite policies. He introduced a resolution pledging the members of the legislature to wear only such clothes as were the product of American industries. This was another policy to which he stood steadfast during his whole political life.

In 1808 there was another vacancy in Kentucky's representation in the United States Senate, and Mr. Clay was elected to fill out the term.

President Madison was just then being troubled over the West Florida matter. An independent government had been set up in West Florida and had applied to the United States for recognition. In response President Madison issued a proclamation asserting the claim of the United States to West Florida, and announcing that possession should be taken of the territory by the United States. A bill was introduced in the Senate providing that the Territory of Orleans, one of the two territories into which Louisiana had been divided, should extend to the river Perdido.

This brought angry opposition from the Federalists. Clay took up the defense of the administration. He made several speeches of great power, answering the objections of the opponents of the measure, and turning them into ridicule. One of the speakers of the opposition was Senator Horsey, of Delaware. In one of his speeches he dwelt at length upon the displeasure Great Britain would exhibit. In his reply Mr. Clay thus spoke:

The gentleman reminds us that Great Britain, the ally of Spain, may be obliged by her connection with that country to take part with her against us, and to consider the measure of the President as justifying an appeal to arms. Sir, is the time never to arrive when we may manage our own affairs without the fear of insulting his Britannic majesty? Is the rod of British power to be forever suspended over our heads? Does Congress put an embargo to shelter our rightful commerce against the piratical depredations committed upon it on the ocean? We are immediately warned of the indignation of offended England. Is a law of non-intercourse proposed? The whole navy of the haughty mistress of the seas is made to thunder into our ears. Does the President refuse to continue a correspondence with a minister who violates the decorum belonging to his diplomatic character by giving and repeating a deliberate affront to the whole nation? We are instantly menaced with the chastisement which English pride will not fail to inflict. Whether we assert our rights by sea, or attempt their maintenance by land—whithersoever we turn ourselves, this phantom incessantly pursues us. Already it has too much influence on the councils of the nation. Mr. President, I most sincerely desire peace and amity with England; I even prefer an adjustment of differences with her before one with any other nation. But if she persists in a denial of justice to us, or if she avails herself of the occupation of West Florida to commence war upon us, I trust and hope that all hearts will unite in a bold and vigorous vindication of our rights.

From this debate he came forth with an increased reputation as an orator, and as an American. His leadership of the younger element in American politics was assured. It was during this session of the Senate he took such vehement stand against granting a recharter to the Bank of the United States that a few years later caused him much trouble to reconcile with the position he took under Jackson's administration. His speech opposing the recharter has always been looked upon by anti-bank men as one of the strongest that could be made. He served his term in the Senate and returned to Kentucky with a heightened reputation as an orator and a statesman.

In 1811 he was elected a member of the National House of Representatives. He enjoyed the unique distinction of being elected Speaker of the House on the first day he took a seat as a member of that body. His reputation was national, and as a younger element had obtained control in the House it was natural their choice for Speaker should fall on Clay. He was the undisputed leader of the younger element.

Our differences with England had been growing between the years when he left the Senate and the time he became a member of the House. The United States was a peace-loving nation, and Mr. Madison was a peace-loving President. It is not necessary here to trace the causes which brought war between us and Great Britain. They are known to every student of American history. President Madison had contented himself with filing complaints against the actions of the British navy, but shunned everything that might lead to war. The country was feeling this humiliation. Madison, while Secretary of State in the Jefferson administration, had made several appeals to the right and fairness of the British Government, but they availed nothing. Embargo and non-intercourse had been resorted to without effect. Madison became President; still nothing was done but talk. The country had grown tired of the talk and of the submission to the acts of Great Britain. It was at this time that Clay was elected to the House. He was full of fire and of resentment against England. With a few others of the younger members he began at once the work of forcing war. Madison in one of his messages had suggested that the country put itself in preparation to defend its honor from further aggressions. He ardently wished and hoped to prevent an armed conflict, and his suggestion was only timidly made. He was not willing to take the initiative, but if Congress decreed war, he would accept its dictum. He wanted to be pushed, and Clay and those who stood with him were willing to push.

Early in the session Clay began urging Congress to put at the disposal of the President a much larger force than he had asked for, both for the army on land, and the navy on the seas. He spoke of war with Great Britain as sure to come, and urged the necessity of being prepared for it. In one of his speeches he used the following words in reply to a question as to what we could gain by war: "What are we to lose by peace? Commerce, character, a nation's best treasure, honor." It was with such ringing words he urged Congress to act. The result was that Congress authorized a large increase of the regular army, and also gave the President authority to accept 50,000 volunteers. A bill was introduced providing for the building of ten new frigates. Clay asked the pertinent question, "Because we cannot provide against every danger shall we provide against none?"

The war spirit rapidly arose throughout the country, and manifested itself by passing resolutions and memorializing Congress. Madison

endeavored to escape an appeal to arms by recommending an embargo of sixty days. This was increased to ninety days by Congress. Clay was not satisfied with such half-way measures, and vehemently declared the embargo meant war, and nothing but war. "War," he said, "after all was not so terrible a thing. There was no terror in it except its novelty."

President Madison at last yielded to the spirit of Young America and sent to Congress a message recommending war. War having been declared, Clay went through the country arousing the enthusiasm of the people. It was reported at the time that President Madison seriously contemplated making Clay commander-in-chief in the field. As lamely as the war was conducted on land at first, such an appointment would have been a serious mistake and it was well for the country that the President listened to the earnest objections of Gallatin.

During the war Clay was the animating figure. He kept the enthusiasm of the people at fever heat, and held up the courage of Madison. The President was a lover of peace. He was temperamentally unfit for conducting the affairs of the government during a war. His eyes ever turned toward finding an opportunity to end the war. At last the opportunity came, when Great Britain signified a willingness to consider treating for peace. When that opportunity came the President eagerly appointed Commissioners to treat, Clay being one of them. On receiving the appointment as Commissioner he at once resigned the Speakership and his seat in the House. Clay was a poor selection for such a mission. He was impulsive, impetuous, hating all the traditional delays of diplomacy. At every halt in the negotiations he wanted to break off altogether. There were frequent clashes between him and John Quincy Adams, another member of the Commission. Gallatin was the peace-maker and it required all his skill and patience to prevent open breaks.

It was a weary time for a man of Clay's impetuous disposition, yet he more clearly saw through the schemes of the British Commissioners than did either of his colleagues. There seemed to be a constant fear on the part of the Americans that the British Commissioners would break off, but Clay repeatedly declared that Great Britain was in such a strait that peace was an imperative necessity, and that if the Americans would stand for abolition of the claim of right of search and seizure, Britain would give way, and thus the cause that brought on the war would be removed. Of the impetuous temper of Clay at this time, Carl Schurz, in his "Life of Clay," says:

The complaint about Clay's ill-tempered moods were undoubtedly well-founded. Always somewhat inclined to be dictatorial and impatient of opposition, he had on this occasion especial reason for being ill at ease. He, more than any one else, had made the war. He had advised the invasion of Canada, and predicted an easy conquest. He had confidently spoken of dictating a peace at Quebec or Hali-

fax. He had, after the withdrawal of the Orders in Council, insisted that the matter of impressment alone was sufficient reason for war. He had pledged the honor of the country for the maintenance of the cause of "Free Trade and Seamen's Rights." Now to make a peace which was not only not dictated at Quebec or Halifax, but looked rather like a generous concession on the part of a victorious enemy; to make peace while disgraceful defeats of the American arms, among them the capture of the seat of government and the burning of the Capitol, were still unavenged, and while after some brilliant exploits the American navy was virtually shut up in American harbors by British blockading squadrons; a peace based upon the *status ante bellum*, without even an allusion to the things that had been fought for—in one word, a peace which, whatever its merits and advantages, was certainly not a glorious peace—this could not but be an almost unendurable thought to the man who, above all things, wanted to be proud of his country.

Clay consistently adhered to the idea of including impressments in the treaty. Of this Adams wrote: "Mr. Clay came to my chamber, and on reading the British note manifested some chagrin. He still talked of breaking off the negotiations, but he did not exactly disclose the active cause of his ill-humor, which was, however, easily seen through. In the evening we met, and Mr. Clay continued in his discontented humor. He was for taking time to deliberate upon the British note. He was for meeting about it tomorrow morning. He was sounding all around for support in making another stand for resistance at this stage of the business. At last he turned to me and asked me whether I would not join him now and break off the negotiation. I told him no, there was nothing now to break off on."

Clay then reluctantly agreed to sign the treaty. He was not satisfied. A year later on the floor of the House he said:

I gave a vote for the declaration of war. I exerted all the little influence and talent I could command to make the war. The war was made. It is terminated. And I declare, with perfect sincerity, if it had been permitted to me to lift the veil of futurity, and to foresee the precise series of events which have occurred, my vote would have been unchanged. We had been insulted, and outraged, and spoliated upon by almost all Europe—by Great Britain, by France, by Spain, Denmark, Naples, and, to cap the climax, by the little contemptible power of Algiers. We had submitted too long and too much. We had become the scorn of foreign powers, and the derision of our own citizens. What have we gained by the war? Let any man look at the degraded condition of this country before the war, the scorn of the universe, the contempt of ourselves, and tell me if we have gained nothing by the war. What is our situation now? Respectability and character abroad, security and confidence at home.

While he was absent in Europe he was again elected to the House. Before leaving Kentucky to take his seat in the House, Secretary of State Monroe offered him the mission to Russia. This offer he declined as he later declined a seat in the cabinet as Secretary of War, tendered him by President Madison. On the first day of the session he was once more elected Speaker. Clay and Calhoun were the two dominant leaders of the Republicans in the new Congress. The tax question was one of the main issues before that Congress. Mr. Clay became the

conspicuous opponent of a proposed measure reducing the direct taxes. He frequently availed himself of the privilege of joining in debates when the House was in Committee of the Whole, and made a number of speeches on the tax question. He set forth that affairs with Spain were not very promising, and that it would be better to keep a strong army and navy than to wait until war should come and we would once more find ourselves unprepared. He again brought forward his great scheme of internal improvements, all of which would call for money.

The tariff also became a prominent question before Congress. As soon as the war ended the country was flooded with foreign merchandise, and American manufactories were forced to close. Clay wanted to protect them. In early life he had declared in favor of the protection theory that had been advocated by Hamilton, and now sought to put that theory into more active practice. A strange mix-up in politics resulted. Hamilton had been the leader and idol of the Federalists and they had supported his protection theory. The Republicans under Jefferson had been in opposition. Now the Republicans, following Clay, were the protectionists while the Federalists were its opponents. Calhoun, Lowndes, and other Southerners were on the side of Clay. Webster, the great New Englander, led the opposition.

There was another troublesome problem before Congress. The currency situation was deplorable. This had been brought about largely by the refusal to recharter the Bank of the United States. Clay had been one of the strongest opponents of the renewal. More of this attitude of Clay on the bank question will be given when dealing with the Clay-Jackson war. The withdrawal from circulation of the notes of the Bank of the United States brought forth a flood of circulating notes issued by State banks, and the country was fairly deluged with such notes, many of them issued without sufficient specie backing. As a natural result, they circulated only at a ruinous discount. Specie payments were suspended and a wild financial panic swept over the country. Manufacturers and merchants went into bankruptcy in all parts of the country. The Secretary of the Treasury promptly recommended the establishment of a specie-paying bank, and this was warmly championed by Clay. It was in fact a revival of the old Bank of the United States.

While all these troubles were affecting the political situation Mr. Monroe was inaugurated President. He at once tendered to Mr. Clay a place in his Cabinet as Secretary of War, or, if preferred, the mission to England. Both these offers were declined. There were those who believed that had the offer of a cabinet place been that of Secretary of State Mr. Clay would have accepted. The State Department was looked upon as a stepping stone to the presidency. Madison had been Secretary of State under Jefferson, and had followed him in the higher office. Monroe had occupied that place under Madison, and was

now President. So a feeling had grown up among the politicians that the State Department was the stepping stone to the presidency.

When the House met Clay was once more elected Speaker, and this time by an almost unanimous vote, receiving 140 to 7. In his first message President Monroe declared his opposition to Clay's pet scheme of internal improvements. This was regarded by many as an open challenge to Clay. The gallant Kentuckian at once accepted the challenge, and soon political, or official, life became quite a burden to Mr. Monroe. In one of his speeches on the subject Mr. Clay asked his audience if the Constitution in giving power to Congress to establish post-offices and post roads was intended for the States on the Atlantic seaboard alone and for the benefit solely of that section of the country, and then answered his own question as follows:

Every man who looks at the Constitution in the spirit to entitle him to the character of a statesman must elevate his views to the height which this nation is destined to reach in the rank of nations. We are not legislating for this moment only, or for the present generation, or for the present populated limits of the United States; but our acts must embrace a wider scope—reaching northwestward to the Pacific, and southwardly to the river Del Norte. Imagine this extent of territory covered with sixty, or seventy, or an hundred millions of people. The powers which exist in this government now will exist then; and those which will exist then exist now.

What was the object of the Convention in framing the Constitution? The leading object was UNION. Union, then peace external and internal, and commerce, but more particularly union and peace, the great objects of the framers of the Constitution, should be kept steadfastly in view in the interpretation of any clause of it; and where it is susceptible of various interpretations, that construction should be preferred which tends to promote the objects of the framers of the Constitution to the consolidation of the Union. . . . I am a friend, a true friend, to state rights, but not in all cases as they are asserted. We should equally avoid that subtle process of argument which dissipates into air the powers of the government, and that spirit of encroachment which would snatch from the states powers not delegated to the general government.

The result of the debate was the passage of a resolution declaring that Congress has the power to appropriate money for the construction of post roads, military, and other roads, and for the improvement of waterways. Clay pressed the subject at every opportunity, and his speeches sometimes had a tone of bitterness. Clay, perhaps more than any other statesman of his day, anticipated the future greatness of the country. Of this characteristic of the great Commoner Mr. Schurz says: "Here was the well-spring from which Henry Clay drew his inspiration—a grand conception of the future destiny of the American Republic, and of a government adapted to the fulfillment of that great destiny; an ardent lover of the Union, as the ark of liberty and national grandeur, a Union to be maintained at any price; an imaginative enthusiasm which infused its patriotic glow into his political principles, but which was also apt to carry him beyond the limits of existing things and conditions, and not seldom unfitted him for the formation

of a clear and well-balanced judgment of facts and interests. But this enthusiastic conception of national grandeur, this lofty Unionism constantly appearing as the inspiration of his public conduct, gave to his policies, as they stood forth in the glow of his eloquence, a peculiarly potent charm."

The result of the debate was the passage of a resolution that Congress possessed the power to appropriate money for the construction of post, military, and other roads, and for the improvement of waterways. But Congress refused to declare it possessed the power to construct canals. It was only a partial victory for Mr. Clay. In a number of ways he criticised the administration of President Monroe, but only to his own hurt, for it was charged that his opposition arose from his disappointment in not receiving the Portfolio of State.

A speech he delivered urging a recognition of the Republics set up in South America by the revolt against Spain has long been regarded one of the most eloquent of all the speeches he made during his lifetime. It was eloquent in the highest degree, and created throughout this country an intense feeling in support of the movement for an immediate and efficient recognition on the part of the United States government of those newly established Republics. It did not, however, avail anything so far as congressional action was concerned.

It was during the second session of this Congress that the first clash between Clay and Jackson occurred. It was over Jackson's invasion of Florida. A resolution was reported to the House disapproving of the trial and punishment of the two British traders under the order of Jackson. Clay took a prominent part in the debate which followed. At one time during the debate he said, among other things:

In arising to address you, sir, I must be allowed to say, that all inferences, drawn from the course which it will be my painful duty to take in this discussion, of unfriendliness either to the chief magistrate of the country, or to the illustrious military chieftain whose operations are under investigation, will be wholly unfounded. Toward that distinguished captain who shed so much glory on our country, whose renown constitutes so great a portion of its moral property, I never had, I never can have, any other feelings than those of the most profound respect and of the utmost kindness. I know the motives which have been, and will again be attributed to me in regard to the other exalted personage alluded to. They have been and they will be unfounded. I have no interest other than that of seeing the concerns of my country well and happily administered. Rather than throw obstructions in the way of the President, I would precede him and pick out those, if I could, which might jostle him in his progress. I may be again reluctantly compelled to differ from him, but I will with the utmost sincerity assure the committee that I have formed no resolution, come under no engagements, and that I never will form any resolution, or contract any engagements, for systematic opposition to his administration, or to that of any other chief magistrate.

His speech was statesmanlike and of great brilliancy, but it made Jackson his enemy, and Jackson was not of the forgiving kind. Jackson kept Clay out of the presidency. Clay still retained his popularity

in the House, and when the Sixteenth Congress assembled he was again named as Speaker, and this by an almost unanimous vote, in fact without any opposition.

It was not long after Congress had opened its session before Clay was on his feet again, assailing the administration. Secretary of State John Quincy Adams had negotiated a treaty with Spain for the cession of Florida, but it had failed of being ratified by the King of Spain, and a proposition had been made for the United States to take possession of Florida by force of arms. The treaty as negotiated had not been satisfactory to Clay. He charged that it had surrendered to Spain large territory which rightfully belonged to the United States by virtue of the accession of Louisiana.

The scheme to take possession of Florida by force, or obtaining that territory by another treaty aroused Clay to vehement wrath. He assailed the proposition and the treaty in a number of speeches. He offered two resolutions, one to the effect that no treaty surrendering territory was valid without the consent of Congress; the other that the cession of Florida to the United States was not an adequate equivalent for the surrender to Spain of Texas. Both failed of adoption.

Another great opportunity for Clay to make his influence felt was when the bill for the admission of Missouri into the Union as a State was presented. It awakened intense interest in all parts of the country. There was a growing sentiment in the North against the extension of slave territory, and a determined effort was made to exclude the institution from the new State. A compromise was the final result.

Many historians and political writers have given Clay the chief honor of the compromise, claiming that he was its author. This is not true. The compromise bill was first introduced in the Senate. It passed that body and came to the House as a Senate measure. By adroit parliamentary rulings Speaker Clay did prevent its final rejection by the House, and thus identified himself with the final success of the measure.

During the second session of the Sixteenth Congress Mr. Clay resigned the Speakership and his seat in the House, owing, as he said, to pressing private business. He was not a member of the Seventeenth Congress, but closely watched the turn of events. His faithful constituents of the Lexington district would not let him live in retirement and sent him to the Eighteenth Congress by a practically unanimous vote. During his short absence from the House the Speakership of the House had been a bone of contention, but immediately upon his taking his seat in the Eighteenth Congress he was once more elevated to that high place, it being his sixth election as Speaker.

As the administration of Mr. Monroe drew toward its close the question as to who should be his successor became of absorbing interest to the people as well as to the several gentlemen who aspired to

that proud position. Three members of the cabinet were active aspirants: Adams, Secretary of State; Crawford, Secretary of the Treasury, and Calhoun, Secretary of War. To these were added Clay, Speaker of the House; Jackson, a member of the Senate from Tennessee, and George Clinton, of New York. Calhoun and Clinton later withdrew and became candidates for the second place. This left the race to Crawford, Adams, Clay, and Jackson.

There was a failure to elect by the people, Jackson receiving the highest number of electoral votes, but a minority of the popular vote. The election was thrown into the House, Adams winning. Through the influence of Clay the vote of Kentucky was given to Adams, thus securing his election. At once a cry of "Bargain and sale!" went up. Clay was accused of bartering the vote of Kentucky in return for a promise of a seat in the Cabinet as Secretary of State. In after investigations all this was disproved, it being clearly shown that the whole story was without even a shadow of foundation, but it rose up to trouble Clay in all his future campaigns.

Mr. Clay was tendered the appointment as Secretary of State, and accepted it. Of this appointment Mr. Schurz, in his "Life of Clay," says:

Under ordinary circumstances the offer would have been regarded as a perfectly proper and even natural one. Clay was by far the most brilliant leader of the ruling party. His influence was large and his ability equal to his influence. It was desirable to have a Western man in the Cabinet. Clay towered so high above all the public characters in that region that it would have looked almost grotesque to pass him by, exalting somebody else. It is true that Adams had differed from Clay on important things, and had expressed some unfavorable opinions of him, as, indeed, he had of almost all other public men of note. But the subjects on which they had differed were disposed of; and as to personal feelings, it was one of the remarkable features of Adams' character that, strong as his prejudices and resentments were, he put them resolutely aside when they stood in the way of the fulfillment of a public duty. So, to the end of conciliating the Crawford element, he sufficiently overcame a feeling of strong personal dislike to offer to Crawford himself, in spite of that gentleman's physical disabilities, to continue at the head of the Treasury Department—an offer which Crawford promptly declined. . . . In an administration constructed upon the principle that the leaders of the ruling party should form part of it, Clay was, of course, a necessary man; and to offer him a place in the Cabinet appeared not only in itself proper, but unavoidable. Clay would, therefore, undoubtedly have been offered a place in the Cabinet whether he had or had not exercised any influence favorable to Mr. Adams' election.

Mr. Clay accepted the offer. On the whole, Mr. Clay's administration of the office was creditable to himself and of honor to the Government, although he failed in his efforts to bring about certain relations he anxiously desired with South America. He had this very much at heart, and his failure mortified him very much. It was during his incumbency of the State Department that his duel with John Randolph occurred. It was brought about by some severe reflections

Randolph had made in the Senate over the connection of Clay and Adams. It was a bloodless affair, Randolph refusing to fire on Clay, and Clay's bullet only piercing Randolph's coat.

On retiring from the State Department, Mr. Clay returned to Kentucky, and although for a time in private life, he was still the unquestioned leader of his party. He did not remain long out of public life. He was elected to the United States Senate, and took his seat in that body in December, 1831. The great political battle of his life was to be fought. Two great issues soon developed—the rechartering of the United States Bank, and the enactment of tariff legislation.

In both issues he found himself in antagonism with the Jackson administration at first, but in the outcome was the strong defender of Old Hickory on the tariff matter. On the bank question he was opposed to Jackson from the first to the last. Before recounting this historic fight, it will be well to recall Clay's former attitude in regard to the bank.

When the charter of the first United States bank was about to expire in 1811, its renewal was asked of Congress. Clay was, at the time, a member of the Senate and arrayed himself strongly against granting a renewal of the charter. He argued the question at great length on what he called constitutional grounds. The speech he then made was recalled to the public mind by President Jackson when his great fight against the bank was on, much to the annoyance of Mr. Clay.

A recharter was granted, but vetoed by President Madison. During the Monroe administration it became again absolutely necessary to establish a bank that would supply the country with a stable currency. A charter was granted, and it was against that bank Jackson made his fight. He wanted to destroy it, and that was enough for him and his friends. It might be sound, and it was sound, but Jackson had his reasons for its destruction.

The charter would not expire for several years—in fact, not until after the close of Jackson's administration—but he would not wait. Its death must come while he was at the helm of the nation. It would be idle to attempt to give here any account of the cause of Jackson's enmity. He believed those who were at the head of the bank were his enemies, and to be his enemy was to court destruction.

Jackson wanted the Government deposits withdrawn. A Secretary of the Treasury refused to order the withdrawal and the President removed him. A direct order was then issued by the President that all Government deposits be instantly withdrawn and given to certain State banks. This gave Mr. Clay his opportunity, and the fight was on. He offered two resolutions. One declared that the reasons given by the newly-appointed Secretary of the Treasury for issuing the order of removal were not satisfactory. The other declared that the

President had assumed powers not conferred on him by the Constitution.

A great debate followed, participated in by all the leaders of the Senate. Both resolutions were finally adopted, but the fight was only begun. Senator Benton, the leading defender of the President, made a motion to expunge from the record the obnoxious resolution censuring the President, and announced that if defeated at that session, he would renew the motion at every session until success should crown his efforts. Session after session he did renew his motion. The contest continued until Jackson's administration was nearly at an end. For days the motion of Benton had been debated; Benton saw final victory within his reach. He banded the friends of his motion together in a fast and tight agreement to permit of no adjournment until a vote was had. On the last night of the session Clay, Webster, and Calhoun each spoke at length against the motion. Among other things Mr. Clay said:

If the matter of expunction be contrary to the truth of the case, reproachful for its base subserviency, derogatory from the just and necessary powers of the Senate, and repugnant to the Constitution of the United States, the manner in which it is proposed to accomplish this dark deed is also highly exceptionable. The expunging resolution which is to blot out or enshroud the four or five lines in which the resolution of 1834 stands recorded, or, rather, the recitals by which it is preceded, are spun out into a thread of enormous length. It runs, whereas, and whereas, and whereas, and whereas, and whereas, and whereas, into a formidable array of nine whereases. One who should have the courage to begin to read them, unaware of what was to be their termination, could think that the end of such a tremendous display he must find the very devil.

But why should I detain the Senate, or needlessly waste my breath in fruitless exertions. The decree has gone forth. It is one of urgency, too. The deed is to be done—that foul deed which, like the blood-stained hands of the guilty Macbeth, all the ocean's waters will never wash out. Proceed, then, with the noble work which lies before you, and, like other skillful executioners, do it quickly. And when you have perpetrated it, go home to the people, and tell them what glorious honors you have achieved for our common country. Tell them that you have extinguished one of the brightest and purest lights that ever burnt at the altar of civil liberty. Tell them that you have silenced one of the noblest batteries that ever thundered in defense of the Constitution, and bravely spiked its cannon. Tell them that, henceforward, no matter what daring or outrageous act any President may perform, you have forever hermetically sealed the mouth of the Senate. Tell them that he may fearlessly assume what powers he pleases, snatch from its custody the public purse, command a military detachment to enter the halls of this Capitol, overawe Congress, trample down the Constitution, and raze every bulwark of freedom; but that the Senate must stand mute, in silent submission, and not dare to raise its opposing voice. . . . Tell them, finally, that you have restored the glorious doctrines of passive obedience and non-resistance. And if the people do not pour out their indignation and imprecations, I have yet to learn the character of American freemen.

Notwithstanding the bitter feeling between Clay and Jackson, there was one occasion when the Senator used all his great influence, his

eloquence, his statesmanship to support the President. In a former session a tariff bill had been enacted which was exceedingly obnoxious to the South. Threats had been indulged in of nullifying the act, even of a dissolution of the Union, unless the obnoxious duties were removed by Congress. The crisis was acute.

The President was determined the law should be enforced. The threats of disunion gave him the opportunity of offering his famous toast: "The Union! It must be preserved." The President was devoted to the Union, and his determined character was well known in the South. He even gave it out that if necessary he would send the army into South Carolina, and even that he would proceed to extreme measures by hanging Senator Calhoun, the leader of the nullifiers.

The Northern Senators were opposed to a reduction of the duties and were demanding extreme measures against the nullifiers. The President asked for an enlargement of the powers of the Executive, such as would enable him to close the ports of entry, remove custom houses that were interfered with, employ military force in holding goods for customs dues, and otherwise to act against the nullifiers. The measure became known as the "Force Bill."

The House Committee on Ways and Means reported a revenue bill contemplating a sweeping reduction of the tariff of 1816. It was regarded as an administration bill. The reduction was to take place in the course of two years. It satisfied the South, but angered the protectionists. One day after another passed in endless talk, and the end of the short session approached without anything being accomplished in the way of avoiding the crisis.

It was then that Mr. Clay took the matter in hand. Twenty days before the short session would come to an end he offered a tariff bill of his own. It was avowedly a compromise measure. It provided for a gradual reduction of duties every second year. The free list was considerably enlarged. Clay was the avowed champion of protection, and the introduction of this bill was a great surprise to both sides of the controversy.

After some interviews Calhoun gave his adhesion to the scheme. He was an avowed free-trader, but desired to avoid any extreme measures on the part of the President. The manufacturers of the North were frightened; they saw ruin before them if foreign competition were not checked. To quiet them, Mr. Clay said:

There are four modes by which the industries of the country can be protected: First, the absolute prohibition of rival foreign articles; second, the imposition of duties in such a manner as to have no reference to any object but revenue; third, the raising of as much revenue as is wanted for the use of the Government and no more, but raising it from the unprotected articles; and, fourth, the admission, free of duty, of every article which aided the operations of the manufacturers.

He claimed that the fourth mode was provided in the bill and was extended. The compromise bill met with much opposition in the Senate. Calhoun opposed one feature of the bill with great vehemence, but was finally forced to not only accept it, but to vote for it. This was brought about by the energetic action of Senator Clayton, of Delaware, who declared if every Senator from the South did not pledge himself to vote for the bill, thus taking it out of their power to afterward claim it as unconstitutional, he would move to lay the whole matter on the table, leaving the President to resort to the extreme measures he threatened.

This was humiliating to the last degree to those Senators, but Mr. Clayton stuck to his guns, and the bill finally passed with their votes. The Force Bill had passed the Senate, and unless the compromise was accepted it would pass the House. There was one serious objection to the compromise tariff bill, a constitutional objection, that all revenue bills should originate in the House. This was overcome by shrewd management. The House had long been wrangling over the bill reported by the Committee on Ways and Means. Suddenly, one day, an intimate friend and devoted follower of Clay, Representative Letcher, of Kentucky, moved to amend the committee bill by striking out all after the enacting clause, and inserting new provisions, the provisions of the compromise bill pending in the Senate. This movement was instigated by Mr. Clay, and all of his friends, as well as the adherents of Calhoun, had been secretly notified the step would be taken. The amendment of Mr. Letcher was adopted and the bill as amended passed by the House. The bill, reaching the Senate from the House, did away with the constitutional objection, and that body passed it by the decisive vote of twenty-nine to sixteen. The President signed it on the same day he signed the Force Bill.

South Carolina repealed her nullification ordinance, and the manufacturers of the North later expressed their satisfaction with the bill. Of the way in which the bill was received by the country Mr. Benton says, in his "Thirty Years' View": "It was received as a deliverance, and the ostensible authors of it greeted as benefactors, and their work declared by legislatures to be sacred and inviolable, and every citizen doomed to political outlawry that did not give in his adhesion and bind himself to the perfecting the act."

The nullifiers submitted, but they were not satisfied. They repealed their nullification ordinance, but clung to their doctrines that a State has the right to nullify any act of the Congress. Threats of disunion became a settled policy of the South to frighten the North into compliance with any behest they might make.

Mr. Clay's great ambition was to become President. For that high place his first race was in 1824, when John Quincy Adams, William Crawford, and Andrew Jackson were also seeking the presidency. The

vote that year failed before the people, and the House elected Adams. In 1828 he was not a candidate against Adams, but from that time on until his death he was ever looking forward to the day when he should be selected. As one man satirically expressed it: "Clay could get more men to run after him to hear him speak and fewer to vote for him than any other man known to American politics." Sometimes he was defeated before the people, and at others failed to receive the nomination at the hands of his party. He was a disappointed man, and in the last years of his life his disappointment soured his temper. Defeated for the nomination in 1840, when his election was almost sure, was a severe blow to him, and he soon after resigned from the Senate. It was then charged that his resignation was because of his disappointment. Of this Mr. Benton, in his "Thirty Years' View," says: "The termination of the presidential election in November was the period at which Mr. Clay intended to retire. The determination was formed before that time—formed from the moment that he found himself superseded at the head of his party by a process of intricate and trackless filtration of public opinion, which left him a dreg, where he had been for so many years the head. It was a mistake, the effect of calculation, which ended more disastrously for his party than for himself. Mr. Clay could have been elected at that time." In another place Mr. Benton said:

Mr. Clay led a great party and for a long time, whether he dictated to it or not, and kept it well bound together, without the usual means of forming and leading parties. It was a marvel that, without power or patronage (for the greater part of his career was passed in opposition as a mere member of Congress), he was able so long and so undividedly to keep so great a party together and to lead it so unresistingly. The marvel was solved on a close inspection of his character. He had great talents, but not equal to some he led. He had eloquence—superior in popular effect, but not equal to high oratory to that of some others. But his temperament was fervid, his will strong, and his courage daring; and these qualities, added to his talents, gave him the lead of supremacy in his party—where he was always dominant, but twice set aside by the politicians.

Mr. Clay in manner was haughty and imperious, yet could yield gracefully when he saw defeat before him. He possessed great charms of manner and knew how to use those charms to win supporters. His charms were: unrivaled eloquence, innate patriotism, a commanding presence, a voice the sweetest ever heard in oratory. He was a devoted lover of the Union.

He was six times elected Speaker of the House, and as a presiding officer still stands unrivaled. He was a master of parliamentary laws and usages, and though a partisan, he was ever fair in his rulings. No ruling of his was ever revoked by the House. His manners were polished, and he had a smile that disarmed those who objected to a ruling. No man in American political history had more devoted friends than Henry Clay.

LANGDON CHEVES

LANGDON CHEVES—Speaker of the House of Representatives in the Thirteenth Congress. Born in Rocky River, now Abbeville, South Carolina, September 17, 1776. Son of Alexander and Mary (Langdon) Cheves. Ordinary education. Married in 1806, Mary Elizabeth Dulles. Died in Columbia, South Carolina, June 26, 1857.

Langdon Cheves had a notable career as a lawyer, a member of Congress, and as a banker. Langdon Cheves, of Columbia, S. C., furnishes the following interesting sketch of his great ancestor:

HON. LANGDON CHEVES

Notes from memory by his grandson, Langdon Cheves

FLAT ROCK, N. C., October 14, 1925.

Langdon Cheves was born September 17, 1776, in the Ninety-sixth District (now Abbeville County), South Carolina, in Bull Town Fort, a stockaded block-house, where the scattered settlers had taken refuge from the terrible onslaught of the Cherokee Indians, after the British attack on Charleston. His young aunt and another girl were murdered and scalped near the fort.

He was the only child of Alexander Chivas and Mary Langdon, his wife. His mother was a Virginia refugee; his father, a Scot, a native of Buchan, Aberdeenshire, born there in 1741, the eldest son of John Chivis (or Chivas) and Anna Petrie, his wife.

Alexander Chivas came to Carolina in 1763, and began life there in the Ninety-sixth District, on the frontiers of the Cherokee and Creek nations. He acquired lands by grant and purchase, and was successful as a planter and trader in the Nation, with pack-horse trains between the Nation and Charleston. He married there, in 1774, Mary, the daughter of Thomas Langdon, a refugee, after "the Braddock War," from Augusta County, Va., where his father, Joseph Langdon, had grants in 1750. Thomas settled on the forks of Rocky River, South Carolina, near the Pickens, Cunninghams, and other refugees. Alexander Chivas was a King's man, as became a Scot. He fought the Indians, but would not fight against the King. Compelled to choose sides, he served as lieutenant in Colonel Hamilton's Loyal Regiment.

His young wife died in 1779, aged 25 years, and leaving his infant son to the care of relations, he retired to Charleston, and thence to Scotland. He re-married there in 1785, and, returning to Carolina, brought his son from Abbeville to live in Charleston.

Langdon had grown to nine years of age in the primitive outdoor life of a frontier settlement. In 1783 his grandfather (who had been a captain on the American side in the "96" fight in 1775) died, leaving him his lands on the north fork of the Shenandoah and lots in Woodstock, Va. His aunt, a good and clever woman, had brought him up well, and given him the rudiments of education.

In Charleston he had opportunities of fuller learning. His father, having lost his property in the war, was living in straitened circumstances, but could assist his clever and eager son, who also received educational help and books from the Rev. Dr. Buist, minister of the Scotch Kirk, and other friends, and was untiring in study himself. While still a boy he was placed in a factor's supply store, where his zeal and aptitude for business soon made him confidential clerk.

In those days supplies were distributed to planters along the numerous rivers by small vessels, and his duty as super-cargo brought him amongst varying people

and experiences, where judgment, tact and self-control were to be learned. Meanwhile he pursued his studies with unflagging assiduity, added the study of law, and decided to give up his position and enter a lawyer's office. His employer remonstrated, declaring he was "born a successful merchant," but assisted him in his plans.

He entered the office of Mr. William Marshall, and in 1797 was admitted to the bar. His first case was from Dr. Buist, and against the able and popular attorney-general (Mr. Pringle), leader of the bar and high in the social life of Charleston. He won his case, made a good impression on his adversary, and the leaders of the bar, and was received by them with the generous encouragement and assistance they have ever shown to their young rivals. His success at the bar was steady and great, and later associated with Mr. Peace, they had the largest business and greatest emoluments every received in Charleston.

Mr. Cheves' father died in December, 1800, and he shared the small fortune generously with his step-mother for her support.

Mr. Cheves soon entered politics; in 1802 was elected alderman, and then to the State Legislature, where his reputation was increased. He married, in 1806, Mary Elizabeth, daughter of Mr. Joseph Dulles, merchant, of Charleston and Philadelphia. In 1808 he was made attorney-general, then the proudest attainment of a lawyer. In 1809 he was elected to Congress from the Charleston District, and there soon took a high position. His speeches on the Merchants' Shipping Bill and the Army Bill attracted great attention, and Washington Irving thought he saw impersonated the classic orators. His judgment, force, reason, fairness of mind, great insight, and clearness of expression steadily increased his reputation. Mr. Cheves was a member of the Committee on Naval Affairs, and, I believe, its chairman, and, I have always understood, did much to build up that splendid Navy which was soon to rival that of the Mistress of the Seas! He was then chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, and there showed great ability in financial affairs. His friend, the Hon. William Lowndes, succeeded him on the Naval Committee. Mr. Cheves stood with the "Galaxy" of South Carolina for the honor of their country against the arbitrary acts of England, and turned the scale for the war which raised their country forever above such humiliations.

In 1813, on his friend Mr. Clay's resigning the Speakership, Mr. Cheves was elected, with great marks of honor and esteem, and proved himself worthy of them in that high office. During this period he lived much in Philadelphia and Washington, and had long and strenuous journeys to and from South Carolina. When, after the war, his family returned to Washington and saw the blackened walls of the Capitol, his little daughters despaired for their dolls stored in its cellars!

In 1816 Mr. Cheves was elected a judge of the Court of Appeals of South Carolina. His mind was eminently judicial and his inclinations were for the law. He established himself in Columbia and enjoyed again the associations, the friends and home life of South Carolina. He made an eminent judge, and his opinions were clear, logical, practical and decisive. And his friends considered his change to the bank presidency a mistake.

In 1818 Mr. Cheves was elected president of the United States Bank, then in an unsatisfactory condition. He accepted reluctantly, leaving South Carolina and the law unwillingly; but his friends in Philadelphia, and his wife's family, now living there, were urgent. His reluctance was increased when the President offered him the vacant associate justiceship of the Supreme Court, an office suited to his mind, inclination and ambition. But he considered himself bound to his friends by his promise to accept the presidency of the bank, and was obliged to decline the justiceship.

Mr. Cheves' management of the affairs of the bank was masterly, and is briefly recounted in Mrs. Reginald Daly's address before the American Historical Society.

After several years, when the bank's difficulties were overcome and its usefulness and stability seemed assured, he resigned the presidency to accept the position of Commissioner under the Treaty of Ghent.

While in Philadelphia he erected a handsome home for the bank and a fine house for himself besides. He was ever a great builder of houses. But he was necessarily much in Washington, also, and his two daughters were "going out" there. He also bought and greatly improved a country house at Lancaster, Pa., which he called "Abbeville," after his old home in South Carolina, and which still bears the name, where he lived, spending his summers at Newport, on his way to which he experienced one of the few illness of his life.

In 1824-25 he was mentioned for Secretary of the Navy, for Minister to England, and, indeed, for the Presidency itself.

In 1829 Mr. Cheves returned to South Carolina. His family was growing up. He had been long away, and his wife's family had valuable cotton plantations there, and these required his attention.

It is difficult to realize the exhausting trials and exertions and the time required in traveling from Charleston to Philadelphia by sailing vessels or, more commonly, by land in heavy coaches, flimsy chairs, or horseback, day after day, over wretched roads, and "resting" at worse inns, there and back again. Mrs. Cheves writes for her brother to take her by sea to Philadelphia. "You are not strong enough to do, as Mr. Cheves does, drive the coach-and-four himself all the way."

Judge Cheves (as he was usually called) had been long away from South Carolina, and was out of touch with political changes, new ideas, and a later generation of politicians. He was unalterably opposed to the popular desire for separate State action as unwise and ineffective (though he favored united action of the Southern States to preserve their liberties), and opposed it in speech, action and the press. Hence he was out of politics in the State. Having settled affairs in the St. Matthews cotton plantations, in 1830 Mr. Cheves went to Charleston to a large house, with park-like grounds, where his family enjoyed the social entertainments and gayeties of Charleston, where his eldest daughter was married, and a great change came in his own life.

At near 60 years of age he decided to leave public life and begin life over as a planter. He bought and improved valuable rice plantations on the Savannah River and settled others on the Ogeechee River, in Georgia. He lived on his plantations, or in Savannah, later establishing a summer home near Pendleton, in the South Carolina mountains, and devoted himself to the cultivation and improvement of his plantations with all the energy and enthusiasm with which he had begun life as a lawyer, statesman and financier, and with equal success, for in a few years he made, for those times, a great fortune by agriculture, and settled his sons and daughters in large and profitable possessions. But he suffered great misfortunes, also, in those years in the deaths of his devoted wife and two eldest sons.

Judge Cheves was a man of the highest character and attainments, firm of purpose, but just, tolerant and generous. He was admired and liked by all his associates and neighbors wherever he lived, and popular with all he met. He was fond of society, and liked company and good and spacious houses, and entertaining in them easily and freely.

When, in his old age, South Carolina and the Southern States united to resist oppression, he bore his full part, and his speech at the Nashville Convention was one of the greatest of his life.

Having made over the greater part of his property to his sons and daughters, he retired to a house he had built (his last) in the "Sand Hills," near Columbia, and passed a few quiet years; but survived only a short time the untimely deaths of his two younger sons, and died in Columbia on the 25th of June, 1857, in the 81st year of his age, full of years and honors and mourned by his State and her people.

The name went through many variations. It is now "Cheves," pronounced Chivis, and was originally spelled Seves, Shavis, Chivis, Chivas. Mr. Cheves himself decided on it as now spelled.

In politics he was of the Jeffersonian, or "Strict Construction," following. From the beginning of our national history South Carolina, more than any other State in the Union, clung to the strict construction of the Constitution, as opposed to the theories of Hamilton. It was as a National Republican Mr. Cheves was elected to Congress in 1811.

He entered Congress just at a time when the country was aflame over the conduct of England in seizing American sailors on the high seas. All the South was aroused under the slogan, "Free Trade and Sailors' Rights," and Mr. Cheves ardently responded. In Congress he met with other young men of his way of thought on this subject, such as Henry Clay, John C. Calhoun, and Felix Grundy. Mr. Clay at once became the leader of the younger element in Congress, and they began active and effective work to force the timid Madison to prepare for earnest and efficient opposition to the outrages on American rights by Great Britain.

Mr. Cheves was made Chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means, and also a member of the Committee on Naval Affairs. This placed him at once in the ranks of leaders of that wing of his party on the floor. He took an active part in all the major debates, establishing a reputation as an orator of high degree, and a ready and able debater.

He was a devoted friend of Speaker Clay, supporting him in every measure he proposed. Being a forcible debater, and possessing a thorough knowledge of international law, and an unbounded confidence in the future greatness and power of the United States, he early wielded a great influence both in and out of Congress. He looked forward to a time when the United States would be one of the most powerful among the nations of the earth, and he felt it was incumbent on the people and the Government to affirm, even if war should result, the rights of our citizens upon the seas. These views he enforced in a number of speeches.

He quickly became one of the most popular members of the House, and when he spoke he was given close attention by all his colleagues. He was re-elected to the Thirteenth Congress, and when it became rumored that Mr. Clay would resign the Speakership to take a place on the Peace Commission, by almost common consent it was taken for granted he would be elevated to the Speakership, which quickly followed when Mr. Clay did resign.

As Speaker, he was firm and conciliatory. On two occasions he gave the casting vote on two very important measures. A proposition was submitted to the House for the temporary removal of the seat of government from Washington, owing to its almost defenseless situation.

A committee to which the resolution had been submitted reported that it was unnecessary and inexpedient to remove the seat of government, even temporarily. On the question of concurring in the report of the committee, the vote was a tie. Speaker Cheves cast his vote in favor of concurring, and thus saved the Government from the humiliation of running away from its capital.

The other vote was given against granting a recharter to the United States Bank. A recharter had been recommended by the Secretary of the Treasury. The finances of the country were in a most deplorable condition. It was without a uniform and stable currency; the war had added largely to the public debt, and money was needed. The Secretary of the Treasury had recommended the establishment of a National Bank in Philadelphia.

The contest in Congress was long and bitter and the bill was defeated. A second bill was introduced in the Senate authorizing the establishment of a bank with a capital of \$50,000,000, and the bank was to loan the Government \$30,000,000. This bill passed the Senate and reached the House. When it came before the House on its third reading and final passage, the vote stood eighty-one for and eighty against.

Speaker Cheves demanded that his name be called and voted against the bill, thus producing a tie, which automatically defeated the bill. In the few remarks giving his reasons for the vote he was about to announce, he stated that by the rules of the House it was the right and duty of the Speaker to cast a vote in two cases, and that the question then pending was one of the occasions. He set forth that three major points had been urged as to the necessity for such a bank, and declared that in his judgment the bill was a dangerous, unexampled, and, he might say, desperate resort to cure an evil. He delivered, so say the "Annals of Congress," with even more than his usual eloquence and impressiveness, his opinion of the several points that had been urged in favor of the bill, and concluded with expressing his solemn belief that neither of the purposes for which it was claimed the bank was to be established would be assured by the bill. He denied that the passage of the bill was demanded for the safety of the nation, as had been claimed. Although it would be painful for him to cast his vote as he intended to do, he was obliged to vote in the negative. This made the vote on the passage of the bill a tie, and it consequently failed.

During the administration of President Monroe a bill to establish a National Bank passed both Houses and became a law. It was the bank established under this Act that Jackson fought and destroyed. Leaving Congress at the close of his term, Mr. Cheves resumed the practice of his profession, retaining, however, his interest in State and National politics. In 1816 he was elected one of the Associate

Justices of the Supreme Court of South Carolina, and became as eminent as a jurist as he had been as a statesman. He had been offered a seat in the Cabinet as Secretary of the Treasury by President Monroe, but he declined the position in favor of his friend, William H. Crawford.

The new National Bank, established under the provisions of the Act passed during the Monroe administration, began business under the most adverse circumstances, and, owing to faulty management, the bank soon fell into difficulties. A committee of investigation was appointed by the House of Representatives, and its report was not flattering to the management of the bank. Mr. Cheves had been elected one of the directors of the branch in South Carolina. When the directors of the parent bank in Philadelphia, spurred on by the adverse report of the House Committee, determined upon a change in the management, Mr. Cheves was elected president of the bank. Of his election and what was accomplished by it, John Jay Knox, in his "History of Banking," says:

On March 6, 1819, the full board elected Langdon Cheves to succeed Mr. Fisher. Mr. Cheves found the institution in a precarious condition. He at once instituted a searching examination into all its affairs, especially into those of the Baltimore branch. In his letter January 12, 1821, he speaks of the frauds perpetrated on the bank and the consequent losses, the lack of any legal penalty for such offenses, and that unfaithful officers can even while an investigation is going on take the bank's property from the vaults and hold it for their own purposes. The losses at the branch were reported to be three million dollars. Under Mr. Cheves' management and the general improvement of business the bank soon recovered. The main object, and the one toward which he immediately bent his energy, was the maintenance of specie payments. . . . He had to reform the abuses, arising from the too liberal policy of his predecessors, and bear the burden of forcing the banks of the country to contract their circulation and resume specie payments.

Mr. Cheves through his management of the bank restored the currency of the country to a specie basis, thus bringing safety and prosperity not only to the bank, but to the business of the country at large. In the short space of two years he established a reputation as one of the great financiers of the country. After restoring the bank to its legitimate position, Mr. Cheves resigned the presidency, and for a time practiced law in Philadelphia. Later, as has been told, he returned to South Carolina and lived in retirement, devoting much of his time in writing a series of essays, some of which have become historical.

In politics Mr. Cheves was of the Calhoun order, believing that the States had a right to nullify a law of Congress and to secede from the Union when its people so desired. When the nullifiers during the Jackson administration began their talk of secession, Mr. Cheves opposed them, not because he did not believe in the right of secession, but because he thought it inopportune at that time. Some years later

he made a speech before a convention, in which he urged the establishment of a Southern Confederacy. He died before that attempt was made.

No son of South Carolina ever stood higher in the estimation of the people of that State than did Langdon Cheves. Of him Judge O'Neal, in his "Bench and Bar of South Carolina," says: "Judge Cheves, beyond all doubt, was a most extraordinary man. He merited much more than he received." Judge Hugger, himself a most distinguished jurist, said: "Cheves loved truth; and to it sacrificed everything." Mr. Cheves' retirement from public life was his own voluntary act. His people wanted him to continue in Congress, and when he was on the bench wanted him to continue there, but he loved the peace of private life.

JOHN W. TAYLOR

JOHN W. TAYLOR—Speaker of the House in the second session of the Sixteenth Congress, and Speaker of the Nineteenth Congress. Born at Charlton, New York, March 26, 1784. Son of John and Chloe (Cox) Taylor. Educated at Union College. Married in 1808 Miss Jane Hodge. Died in Cleveland, Ohio, September 8, 1854.

John W. Taylor, who served the State of New York as one of its representatives in Congress for twenty years, was regarded as one of the most brilliant men of his time. He was remarkable as a party leader, and it required all the influence of the great Clinton family to defeat him as a candidate to succeed himself in the Twenty-first Congress. Yet there is little on permanent record to tell the story of his life and activities, except what is found in the "Annals of Congress" during the several terms in which he served. And those annals are meager, abbreviating the speeches made during each session.

Of the man, his manners, his methods, the measure of his influence, only a little can be learned. He was a lawyer by profession, but giving the most of his mature life to the service of the public. He was elected as a Democrat, or, as they were then called, National Republican, to the Thirteenth Congress, and was nine times re-elected. He took part in all the major debates, winning fame and distinction as an orator and for ability as a debater. On many occasions he differed with the leaders of his party. He did not believe in the States' Rights theory so persistently demanded by the Calhoun school. He was a protectionist as to the tariff, and finally, and more emphatically, he was opposed to the further extension of slave territory. He broke with his party and became a Whig in 1839.

Those three things were the standing and leading issues when he served in Congress. The first fierce battle on the slavery question broke out during the Sixteenth Congress. The section of the country

lying west of the Mississippi River, obtained through the purchase of Louisiana, was to be organized for civil government. The House passed a bill admitting Missouri, with slavery restricted. It failed in the Senate. Representative Talmadge, of New York, had offered an amendment to the bill admitting Missouri, providing that the further introduction of slavery be forbidden, and that all children born within the State should be free at the age of twenty-five. A long debate followed, Mr. Taylor taking part. The amendment was finally adopted by the House, but, as has been noted, it was stricken out in the Senate.

A bill for the organization of the Territory of Arkansas was then introduced. To this Mr. Taylor offered an amendment prohibiting the further introduction of slavery. It was voted down. A motion to reconsider the vote was finally defeated by the casting vote of Henry Clay, who was Speaker of the House. It was believed at the time that had a reconsideration of the vote been obtained, the amendment would have been passed by the House.

Speaker Clay made a number of speeches, all favorable to slavery. In one of them he spoke slightly of those who labored in the North. In the course of a rather scathing reply Mr. Taylor said:

Labor is considered low and unfit for freemen. I cannot better illustrate this truth than by referring to a remark of the honorable gentleman from Kentucky (Mr. Clay). I have often admired the liberality of his sentiments. He is governed by no vulgar prejudices; yet with what abhorrence did he speak of the performance, by your wives and daughters, of those domestic offices which he was pleased to call servile! What comparison did he make of the "black slaves" of Kentucky and the "white slaves" of the North; and how instantly did he strike a balance in favor of the condition of the former! If such opinions and expressions, even in the ardor of debate, can fall from the honorable gentleman, what ideas do you suppose are entertained of laboring men by the majority of slaveholders?

Before the second session of the Sixteenth Congress opened Henry Clay resigned the Speakership. This opened the way for a sharp contest for the vacant place. There were three candidates in the field—John W. Taylor, of New York; William Lowndes, of South Carolina, and Samuel Smith, of Maryland. Mr. Taylor stood strong with those from the North who had opposed the further extension of slavery, while both Lowndes and Smith were radically pro-slavery in sentiment. The feeling over the admission of Missouri was still dominant, and angry mutterings were heard in almost all sections of the country. It took twenty-two ballots to determine the Speakership, Mr. Taylor winning finally on the twenty-second ballot.

As Speaker during that session he added to his reputation, presiding with great dignity and fairness. The elections that year made numerous changes in the membership of the House, and a great effort was early begun to defeat Mr. Taylor for the Speakership should he offer himself as a candidate. It seems that whenever Mr. Clay was not a

member of the House there was always a struggle to elect a Speaker, but whenever he was a member, the House turned to him with practical unanimity. When the Seventeenth Congress was chosen Mr. Clay was not among the members. Before the first session was to assemble in December, 1821, it became known that a strong opposition was being organized against Mr. Taylor. The balloting for Speaker opened on the first day of the session, with sixty votes for Mr. Taylor, forty-five for Caesar Rodney, of Delaware; twenty-nine for Louis McLane, also of Delaware; twenty for Samuel Smith, of Maryland, and seven votes scattering. The second day the name of McLane was withdrawn and that of Philip P. Barbour, of Virginia, added. At last, on the twelfth ballot, Mr. Barbour was elected, receiving just the number necessary for a choice.

Defeated for the Speakership, Mr. Taylor managed to keep things warm for the opposing party during the two sessions of that Congress. He was active on the floor and in the committee rooms. He still claimed allegiance to the National Republican party, but was not always subservient to what the leaders dictated should be the policy. He was wholly national in his political theories, never sectional.

When the Eighteenth Congress met, Henry Clay was again a member, and, of course, there was no struggle over the Speakership. Mr. Barbour had served the one term as Speaker, and now was soon to go upon the Supreme Bench of the United States as an Associate Justice. Mr. Taylor was a member and continued his activities.

The contest for a successor to President Monroe was the main question agitating the people and the members of Congress. The "era of good feeling" was drawing to its close, and financial difficulties for the nation were looming up to disturb the dreams of the statesmen who were to guide the affairs of the Government. Added to this trouble was the opening wrangle over the successor to President Monroe, who was to be chosen the next year. Crawford, Adams, Clay, Calhoun, and Jackson were all before the people. The constant maneuvering by the friends of the various candidates operated to prevent much for the general good being accomplished by Congress.

It is not necessary here to recount the story of how the election was finally determined by the House of Representatives. The result was the seating of John Quincy Adams in the White House. When the Nineteenth Congress began its labors in December, 1825, Mr. Taylor was again elected Speaker. He served with the same distinction that had characterized him during the second session of the Sixteenth. It was the first Congress during the administration of President John Quincy Adams, and for the first time in our political history both Houses of Congress contained a majority hostile to the President. Mr. Taylor only occasionally joined in the debates. He had an exalted opinion of the dignity of the Speakership, and held closely to the doc-

trine that the Speaker should preside, leaving the discussions of measures and policies to those who held seats on the floor. A few times, however, when the House was in Committee of the Whole he did take part in a debate, but never with a set speech.

Of his election to the Speakership of the Nineteenth Congress the paper in his home town of Ballston Spa had this to say:

We felicitate the freemen of this county in the result of the choice of our honorable representative, Mr. John W. Taylor, as Speaker of the House of Representatives of the United States. This is not alone a triumph over the machinations of Van Buren and the Crawford party, but it is a triumph of modest merit over a clan of political disorganizers, headed by the honorable Mr. Van Buren. Yes, freemen of Saratoga, the man of your choice has proved himself worthy of the high station of Speaker of the Nineteenth Congress of the United States. And what better evidence of his standing can you require than that of his receiving the support of such a constellation of talent as compose this Congress?

Mr. Taylor was to serve three more terms in the House, making a total service of twenty years. A strong effort was made by Van Buren and what was then known as the "Albany Regency" to defeat him for both the Twenty-first and Twenty-second Congresses, but his standing was too strong in his district for them to overcome. Through the efforts of Mr. Van Buren he was, however, prevented from being elected Speaker of the Twentieth Congress. It was not until the campaign for the Twenty-third Congress that the Albany Regency was able to keep him out of Congress.

Retiring from Congress, Mr. Taylor once more devoted himself to the practice of law in Ballston Spa. In 1839 he finally severed his connection with the Democratic party and joined with the Whigs. As a Whig he was sent to the New York State Senate in 1840. This was destined to be his last public service. He suffered a stroke of paralysis, and in an effort to restore his health went to Cleveland, Ohio, in 1843, to make his home with a married daughter who lived in that city. There he died the next year.

It was said of Mr. Taylor that he was a brilliant orator, a wise statesman, and a man of rare judgment. It was claimed for him that he made the first speech in direct opposition to slavery ever made in the House of Representatives. He was ardently opposed to the peculiar institution. He was a pleasing speaker, never offending with harsh epithets or bitter words. Argumentative, and sometimes brilliantly eloquent, he was always listened to by whatever audience he addressed. He spoke logically and to the point, seldom wandering away from the subject under discussion. He was born just as the people were beginning the agitation for a "more perfect Union," he lived until he reached the biblical age. He had witnessed the growth of the country, and died only a few years before the war came which for a time threatened the perpetuity of the Union he so dearly loved.

His public services were such as to merit from his fellow-citizens the commendation, "Good and faithful servant."

In private life he was retiring, fond of cultivating his garden. He hated corruption in politics, and his constituents always retained unwavering confidence in his personal and political integrity.

When the news of his death was received in his home town of Ballston Spa, a public meeting was held and a number of addresses were made by his fellow-citizens who had known him for so many years. A few extracts will amply suffice to show the high estimation in which he was held:

The deceased, in his time, filled for many years a large space in the public eye. Among the many distinguished men of whom this country can boast there has not been one who has held such high official position and whose name has been so widely and extensively known as the individual whom we are now about to follow to his grave.

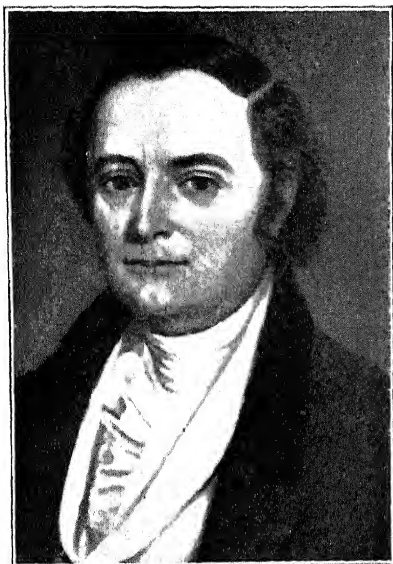
For twenty consecutive years he was continued by a confiding constituency a member of the House—a distinction which, if I mistake not, has in no other instance been attained by a Northern representative. At each successive election (with the exception of 1824) he encountered the most systematic, well-organized and powerful opposition; but he seemed to be enthroned in the hearts of the people of his district, and, as was said of him by a contemporary, "he was cheered when he flourished, and strengthened when he fainted, as scarce ever was a man before." His commanding abilities and national reputation, no doubt, contributed essentially to his home popularity; but the greatest secret of his success was a happy combination of rare social qualities seldom found united in the same individual. It was difficult to resist the fascination of his polished manners and the charm of his society and conversation.

PHILIP PENDLETON BARBOUR

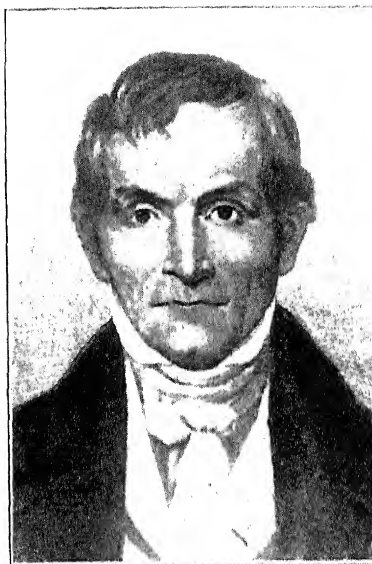
PHILIP PENDLETON BARBOUR—Speaker of the House of Representatives in the Seventeenth Congress. Born in Orange County, Virginia, May 25, 1783. Son of Thomas and Mary (Thomas) Barbour. Educated in the local schools and at William and Mary College. Married in October, 1804, Miss Frances Johnson. Died in Washington, February 25, 1841.

A short sketch of Mr. Barbour printed in the historical papers of Randolph-Macon College opens with the following pertinent sentences:

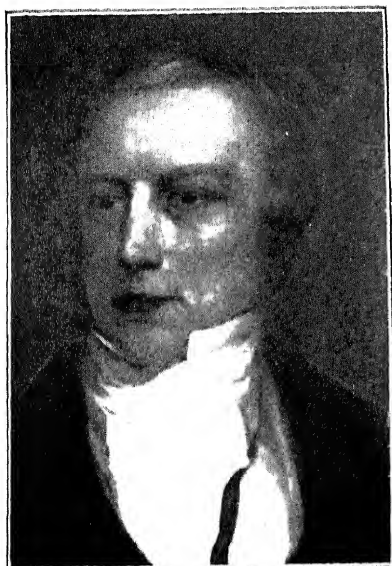
In the period following the War of 1812 both nationality and democracy advanced with tremendous strides in the United States. The war had done two things: it had produced a new set of conditions, and had awakened a new spirit in the people. Perhaps the most fateful of the new movements was the rapid expansion of the West. Immigration was large, the territories were rapidly prepared for statehood, and the influence of the new conditions was felt everywhere. Nationalism grew rapidly at the North and particularism at the South, which had already become a minority section. It was in this period that the "Virginia Dynasty" ended its rule and that Virginia statesmen ceased to be powerful. Yet the long line of her patriots was not entirely ended. Among those left was Philip Pendleton Barbour, who continued to follow the Jeffersonian teachings.



JOHN W. TAYLOR, New York
Sixteenth and Nineteenth
Congresses



P. P. BARBOUR, Virginia
Seventeenth Congress



ANDREW STEVENSON, Virginia
Twentieth, Twenty-first, Twenty-
second and Twenty-third
Congresses



JOHN BELL, Tennessee
Twenty-third Congress

From very early times the Barbour family had been prominent in the affairs of Virginia. The father of the subject of this sketch was a leader in the House of Burgesses in the days before the war for independence, and was one of the signers of the famous non-importation agreement. Like nearly all of the Virginians of his day, this Thomas Barbour ever displayed lavish hospitality, and was in such an impoverished condition that he could not give to his son, Philip Pendleton, the education he desired him to have. He did, however, send him to one of the local schools, where he displayed ability in gathering knowledge on all subjects, especially in languages. He studied law and chose Kentucky for the best forum in which to display his talents and make a name for himself. He only remained one year in the Blue Grass State and then returned to Virginia.

On his return he entered William and Mary College, but financial necessities soon forced him to abandon the college and begin the practice of law. He quickly won a high reputation in his chosen profession, especially as a lawyer in criminal cases. In 1812 he was elected a member of the General Assembly. He served two years, winning a place in the popular esteem. In 1814 he was elected to the National House of Representatives to fill an unexpired term. At that time Henry Clay and John C. Calhoun were the dominant figures in congressional life. Mr. Clay was just beginning his long contest for what he denominated the "American System." The burden of the system was a tariff constructed on the lines of protection to American industries. Against this system Mr. Barbour at once arrayed himself. Connected with his protection theory of the tariff Mr. Clay was pushing forward his great scheme of internal improvements. A part of this scheme was to apply the surplus in the treasury as a sort of bonus for the construction of canals and roads.

Mr. Barbour opposed the whole scheme. He held that the better plan would be to apply the surplus in the treasury to the discharge of the public debt, but his opposition to the internal improvement scheme was based on the theory that it violated the rights of the States; that the Federal Government could take cognizance of commerce with foreign countries, and with those internal affairs which had been submitted to Congress by the Constitution, but in all else the States should be left to act in their own discretion.

Mr. Barbour served through six terms as a member of the House of Representatives. It was during a very stirring period for the country. Slavery was beginning to be the troublesome question, first coming into grave prominence when Missouri knocked at the door for admission as a State in the Union. The story of the contest at that time has been so often told and retold that it is not necessary to repeat it here further than to state Mr. Barbour's attitude on the question. He was a firm believer in slavery as an institution beneficial to the

South. More than that, he believed that under the Constitution any citizen had a right to take his property, no matter what its character might be, into any part of the country; that the country belonged to all the citizens, and by the Constitution was open alike to all citizens. Hence he favored the admission of Missouri with slavery.

He opposed the compromise under which it was sought to limit the area open to slave labor. He held that the compromise was unconstitutional, contending that Congress could legally admit or reject a State, but had no right to impose conditions of any kind other than that its constitution should be republican in form. When a State was once admitted, he argued, it came into full possession of all the rights of a sovereignty, the same as exercised by the original States. If the people of a State admitted to the Union desired to have slavery, it was their right to establish that institution.

In his view the compromise was unfair, as it would operate to grant to a citizen of the North the right to take all his property into the State, no matter what might be its character, but denied that right to a citizen of a Southern State. He also argued that the compromise was a violation of the treaty with France, whereby the territory west of the Mississippi River had been ceded to the United States. The treaty required the United States to protect the citizens of the ceded territory in all the rights they then enjoyed. If the compromise prevailed, those rights would be taken from them.

It is needless for the purpose of this sketch to follow Mr. Barbour closely through the six terms he served in the House. At all times he was a Democrat of the Jeffersonian school, and a defender of "States' rights" as taught by John C. Calhoun. He would limit the powers of the Federal Government to the strict letter of the Constitution, and that defined in the most narrow way. In this strict construction he even went beyond many of the other leaders of that school. A man of eminent ability, and possessing the power to express his views in the most forcible manner, he early exercised a wide influence in Congress, and with the Democratic party at large.

He was elected Speaker of the House in the Seventeenth Congress. This was accomplished by uniting the opponents to the re-election of Representative Taylor, of New York. In the first balloting the name of Mr. Barbour was not presented. It developing that the opposition to Taylor could not be combined in favor of any of the candidates being voted for, Mr. Barbour was put forward. A partisan in the strictest sense of the word, he presided with impartiality and materially strengthened his popularity with the members.

In 1825 he resigned his seat in the House to accept a position as Judge of the General Court for the Eastern District of Virginia. He did not hold that position very long, for the people of his district de-

manded his services in Congress and re-elected him to the Twentieth and Twenty-first Congresses.

In 1830 he finally retired from Congress with the reputation of being among the most logical of its debaters. Before his final retirement from Congress he had been a member of the convention called to formulate a new constitution for the State of Virginia. Former Presidents Madison and Monroe were also members of the convention, Monroe being its president. Mr. Monroe, owing to the state of his health, resigned the presidency, and Mr. Barbour was elected to that place.

The tariff was a source of strife in the South, the "tariff of abominations" being so obnoxious as to cause a feeling in favor of disunion in several parts of the South. Mr. Barbour in 1831 attended a meeting of the free-traders in Philadelphia. While expressing his dislike to the tariff law then on the statute books, he declared his devotion to the Union.

It has been said by the friends of Mr. Barbour that he was offered, on several occasions, a Cabinet seat, but always declined, as he did the race for governor of the State when tendered him. In 1830 President Jackson gave him the appointment as Judge of the United States Court for the Eastern District of Virginia, a position for which he was eminently qualified. In 1832 at the Democratic National Convention he was voted for by the delegates from several of the Southern States for vice-president in opposition to Van Buren. The attempt failed, but his friends still hoped to defeat Van Buren. Their scheme was to have the electors of several of the States cast their votes for Mr. Barbour for vice-president and thus throw the final election into the Senate. The scheme failed.

In 1836 President Jackson gave Mr. Barbour an appointment as Associate Justice of the Supreme Court. On the bench he was as decided a strict constructionist as he had been in Congress, and just at that time the strict constructionists had a majority in the court.

He did not live long after his appointment, serving only about five years. His death was sudden and unexpected. On the night before his death he was in conference with the other members of the court. At the time of his leaving the consultation room he was, apparently, in the best of health. His non-appearance the next morning caused inquiry, and a messenger was sent to his room. He was found lying in a perfectly natural and easy position, but had evidently been dead for some hours.

Mr. Benton, in his "Thirty Years' View," thus gives his estimate of Mr. Barbour:

I was intimate with Mr. Philip P. Barbour during the twenty-one winters which his duties either as a representative in Congress or Justice of the Supreme Court required him to be at Washington. He was a man worthy of the best days of the

republic—modest, virtuous, pure; artless as a child; full of domestic affections; patriotic; filially devoted to Virginia, his native State, and a friend of the Union from conviction and sentiment. He had a clear mind; close, logical and effective method of speaking; copious without diffusion; and always speaking to the subject, both with knowledge and sincerity, he was always listened to with favor. . . . He had the death which knows no pain, and which, to the body, is sleep without waking. He was in attendance upon the Supreme Court, in good health and spirits, and had done his part the night before in one of the conferences which the labors of the Supreme Bench imposes almost nightly on the learned judges. In the morning he was supposed by his servant to be sleeping late, and finally going to his bedside found him dead—the face all serene and composed, not a feature or muscle disturbed, the body and limbs in their easy, natural posture. It was evident that the machinery of life had stopped of itself, and without a shock. . . .

Judge Barbour was a Virginia country gentleman, after the most perfect model of that most respectable class—living on his ample estate, baronially, with his family, his slaves, his flocks and herds—all well cared for by himself, and happy in his care. A lawyer by profession, a politician, of course—dividing his time between his estate, his library, his professional and his public duties—scrupulously attentive to his duties in all. . . . A friend to order and economy in his private life, he carried the same noble qualities into his public stations, and did his part to administer the Government with the simplicity and purity which its fathers intended for it.

The appointment of Mr. Barbour as an Associate Justice was viewed with disfavor in the North, owing to his pronounced views as to the powers of the central government. John Quincy Adams, in his diary, made this note in regard to the report of his possible appointment: "The terror is that some shallow-pated wildcat like Philip P. Barbour, fit for nothing but to tear the Union to rags and tatters, will be appointed."

His actions on the Bench proved to be a delightful surprise to those who feared his appointment. He was fair, impartial, and upright.

ANDREW STEVENSON

ANDREW STEVENSON—Speaker of the House of Representatives in the Twentieth, Twenty-first, Twenty-second and Twenty-third Congresses. Born in Culpeper County, Virginia, in 1784. Son of Rev. John and Frances Arnet (Littlepage) Stevenson. Educated by private tutors. Married Miss Mary Page White, Miss Mary Schaff. Died in Albemarle County, Virginia, June 25, 1857.

It is difficult to rightly estimate such a man as Andrew Stevenson was. He served the public for many years, first in the legislature of Virginia, then in the House of Representatives at Washington, where he was four times elected Speaker of the House, and later as Minister to Great Britain.

Pursuing his classical studies, he at the same time studied law, and on being admitted to the bar practiced that profession in Richmond.

So far as can be judged from the record and what little has been said by his co-temporaries, he was a successful practitioner, but not a profound lawyer. In his twelve years of service in the House of Representatives he originated no great or important scheme of legislation, though he was prompt in attention to the duties of the position. As Speaker of the House he was always dignified, and although a strict partisan, was, in the main, impartial and just in his rulings. He was always popular with his fellow-members of all parties. Much of this was due to his unfailing courtesy of demeanor.

Little is known of his early life. His own opportunities for education were limited, and throughout his long public life he displayed deep interest in the cause of education. He possessed an extensive knowledge of the English common law, and, as it largely prevailed in Virginia at the time he entered upon the practice, was ever ready to quote from it when making an argument before a court or a jury. It has been said of him that he always prepared his cases with the utmost care, and never went into the trial of a cause until he had mastered it in all its bearing. As a criminal lawyer he was decidedly successful. He was regarded as a brilliant speaker, with a ready command of language, and had that florid style which has always been effective before a jury.

Being a Virginian, his mind naturally turned very early to politics. He was born a few years before the establishment of our constitutional government, and was just reaching manhood when the people divided into two strong parties—one under the leadership of Hamilton and the other under Jefferson. He united his political fortunes with the followers of Jefferson, and became one of the strictest of the “strict constructionists.” From that he never departed. He lived and served in troublous times, when slavery was agitating the country, North and South; when the United States Bank was the object of assault by the “strict constructionists”; when our foreign relations were strained to the breaking point with both France and England, and when the tariff for a time threatened to disrupt the Union.

In 1809, when he was twenty-five years of age, he was elected by the people of Richmond to serve them in the Virginia House of Delegates. With the exception of a very short intermission he remained a member of the House of Delegates until 1821, serving as Speaker during several sessions. There were not very many things of great importance pending before the House of Delegates at the time he became a member of that body, and, in fact, not until war with Great Britain came. Perhaps the most important was the question agitating Congress in 1811, that of re-chartering the United States Bank.

Being so strict a “strict constructionist,” Mr. Stevenson took a deep interest in that question, and although it was a matter wholly within the province of Congress and not before the Virginia House of Dele-

gates, Mr. Stevenson thought to influence the action of Congress by having the House of Delegates express an opinion. To that end he introduced a resolution instructing the Senators from Virginia, and requesting the Representatives to "use their best efforts in opposing by every means in their power the establishment of a National Bank under any form whatsoever."

The resolution was adopted by a large vote, as the House of Delegates was strongly of the political school of Mr. Stevenson. As is known to historical students, the bill to recharter the bank failed in Congress. Not many years were to elapse, however, when the South began to wish for a return of the uniform and stable currency which had been supplied by the bank.

During the session of the House of Delegates that year Richmond was visited by a calamity so awful as to call for sympathy from nearly all the civilized world. A new play was offered at the theater, and the auditorium was filled to its utmost capacity with the best of the city, the Governor of the State and members of the Legislature being in the audience. Suddenly a cry of fire arose. A stampede followed, and when the ruins of the burnt building were cleared away, seventy-five dead bodies told of the toll of life taken in the stampede. Among the dead were the Governor of the State and a sister of Mr. Stevenson. The death of the Governor necessitated the election of his successor by the Legislature. The choice fell on James Barbour, Speaker of the Houses of Delegates. This left a vacancy in the Speakership. To that vacant place Mr. Stevenson was elevated.

A split now came in the party. One of the Senators from Virginia refused to obey the instructions to vote against a recharter of the bank, and voted for it. The other Senator obeyed the instructions, but vehemently denounced them. This aroused the House of Delegates, and that body adopted a resolution severely censuring the recalcitrant Senators. As was to be expected, Mr. Stevenson ardently advocated the resolution of censure. Matters of great moment now began to press on the attention of legislators throughout the country. Diplomacy had failed to bring this country and Great Britain into accord, and war was being demanded by the younger element in and out of Congress. The Virginia House of Delegates was in favor of war, as is shown by the following resolutions which were adopted after much speechmaking, in which Mr. Stevenson took a prominent part:

Resolved, as the opinion of this Assembly, that however highly we value the blessings of peace, and however we may deprecate the evils of war, the period has now arrived when peace, *as we now have it*, is disgraceful, and war is honorable.

Resolved, that this Assembly will support the general government in all constitutional and legitimate measures which may be adopted in vindication of the

rights and interests of the people of the United States and in support of the character and dignity of the government thereof, and for these purposes we pledge our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor.

Thus Virginia, under the leadership of Andrew Stevenson and others of his kind, was among the first of the States to declare in favor of war for "Free trade, and sailors' rights." A few of the Virginians opposed the war. One of those was the eccentric John Randolph, but Virginia, through her legislative body, had spoken. Madison was a candidate to succeed himself, and was duly returned by a fair majority of the electoral vote. He was a timid man, but now began active and earnest preparations for the coming war, which all saw must come sooner or later. What took place during the war and how it was brought to a close it is not necessary here to state. It is enough to record that Andrew Stevenson, the subject of this sketch, gave all his power and his influence to sustain his State and the general government in the vigorous prosecution of the war.

Mr. Stevenson became an active candidate for Representative in the Fourteenth Congress. His opponent was John Tyler, afterward President. The race was a close one, Tyler winning by a majority of less than fifty votes. Mr. Stevenson was a candidate again at the next election, but was again defeated, Mr. Tyler increasing very largely his majority. In 1821 Tyler declined another nomination and recommended Mr. Stevenson for his successor. In the meantime Mr. Stevenson again became a member of the Virginia Assembly.

By this time the admission of Missouri as a State in the Union became one of the leading issues. The story of how the South demanded the right to take their property in slaves into any territory of the United States, and how this was resisted by the North, with the eventual outcome of what is known as the "Missouri Compromise," has often been told and retold.

Mr. Stevenson introduced and advocated a resolution by the Virginia Assembly declaring that the people of Missouri had a right to enter the Union under the agreement by which Louisiana was ceded to the United States, with no restrictions placed upon them.

The compromise was already forcing itself upon the minds of the people, and although he opposed it at first, Mr. Stevenson realized that if the Union was to be preserved, the compromise was necessary. This stand he repeatedly emphasized.

Mr. Stevenson was elected to the Eighteenth Congress. His maiden speech was in opposition to a proposed bankrupt law. As an advocate of States' rights, of course Mr. Stevenson opposed the bill. The tariff again became a dividing factor, the members from the Southern States in the main opposing Clay's American system, that of protection. In this they were for a time joined by a few of the members from the

North. The debate continued for many weeks, all the leaders taking part in it on one side or the other. Mr. Stevenson was opposed to the system and made several speeches against it.

Another of Mr. Clay's pet hobbies was under serious discussion, that of a vast system of internal improvements, and against this Mr. Stevenson also arrayed himself. While these questions were agitating both Houses of Congress, that of finding a successor to President Monroe came to trouble the members. In those days the party candidate for President and Vice-President was named by a congressional caucus. Before this caucus Mr. Crawford, Secretary of the Treasury, was the leading candidate. Mr. Stevenson attended the caucus and cast his vote for Crawford for President, and Gallatin for Vice-President. The selection of a President finally fell to the lot of the House, when John Quincy Adams was chosen.

Mr. Stevenson followed the example set by Mr. Clay when he was Speaker of the House, and frequently joined in the debates when the House was in Committee of the Whole. He did this on every occasion when he thought the rights of the States were being invaded, or when slavery was the topic. He was a speaker of much force and always commanded a hearing by his fellow-members. If he was extreme at all, it was only when his peculiar views of the powers of the general government were in question. Perhaps the phrase "peculiar views" is too narrow, for in those views he was joined by a majority of the members from the South. They were the views prevalent in Virginia, where the spirit of Jefferson still ruled in political thought.

The Twentieth Congress assembled December 3, 1827. It was destined to be a stormy session. Mr. Stevenson was put forward as a candidate for Speaker, his opponent being John W. Taylor, of New York, who had been Speaker during the preceding Congress. Mr. Stevenson had now been a member of the House for four years. His pleasing address and his known advocacy of the extreme Southern view made him the popular candidate, and he was duly elected.

As was usual with Speakers-elect on taking the chair, he made a short speech, promising, as all others had done, to devote himself zealously to the discharge of the duties of his high office, and to rule with impartiality. For the first time in the political history of the country both Houses of Congress were in opposition to the President. In naming his committees he gave the Jackson men the preference, in fact, giving them a majority on all the committees. Thus he placed the House in direct hostility to President Adams. It promised ill for the President.

The operations of the existing tariff law were not satisfactory to the South, in fact, had awakened in that section a most bitter antagonism. South Carolina was already talking about nullifying the law, and grave fears for the perpetuity of the Union were manifested in

many sections of the country. This was the condition when General Jackson was elected President. This election operated to bring about a better feeling throughout the country, but South Carolina was still sullen and discontented.

Mr. Stevenson had reason to hope he would be invited to a seat in the cabinet of the new President, and was seriously disappointed that a seat was not offered him. Mr. Stevenson was elected Speaker in the Twenty-first Congress and again in the Twenty-second. Mr. Benton has declared that the Twenty-second Congress was the most violent in the history of the country. Each side was intent on revising the tariff, those of Mr. Stevenson's party were intent on a downward revision, while the others were equally intent on having the revision upward, with more pronounced protective features than ever before.

When the Twenty-second Congress met and Mr. Stevenson was again elected Speaker, he found trouble awaiting him in the formation of his committees. Ex-President John Quincy Adams was a member of this House. Where to place him in committee awards was one of great delicacy. His long experience in diplomatic affairs, having represented the country as Minister to several of the European countries, and his eight years as Secretary of State in the Cabinet of President Monroe, naturally made the Committee on Foreign Affairs a proper place for him. Speaker Stevenson finally solved the question by making him Chairman of the Committee on Manufactures.

As chairman of that committee Mr. Adams reported a tariff bill. Mr. Stevenson did not like the bill and endeavored to kill it, but it passed the House by a large vote. The bill failed to produce the good results hoped for it, especially in the South. It brought about the passage of a nullification act by the Legislature of South Carolina.

Mr. Stevenson now came out with great strength against the right of a State to nullify an act of Congress. He did not do this in speeches on the floor of the House, but by a series of newspaper articles. He also declared that a State had no right to secede from the Union, as South Carolina had threatened to do.

This attitude of Speaker Stevenson was especially pleasing to President Jackson. A new tariff bill was introduced, but early it became evident it could not be passed. The President asked for the passage of a "force bill," giving him authority to call out the army to enforce the laws of Congress. The introduction of this bill operated to cool the ardor of the nullifiers, and they agreed to suspend operations temporarily. It was then that Mr. Clay came forward with his "compromise tariff bill." It passed both Houses, but was accompanied by the force bill.

In the Twenty-third Congress Mr. Stevenson won the Speakership for the fourth time, but it was by one vote only. The opposition had been growing stronger, and his power was waning. During the first

session riot prevailed much of the time, and the Speaker was forced to call the House to order almost daily. The fight against the United States Bank was on with all its violence. The bill to re-charter the bank passed both Houses. The friends of the President were afraid that if he should veto it his election as his own successor would be in danger. Speaker Stevenson was not one of the fearful class. One of his biographers publishes a part of a letter he wrote at that time to his wife. It reads: "The bank charter will pass, I have no doubt, but will be vetoed by the Old Pole Cat! If he meets it, as I have no doubt he will, it will surround him with a blaze of glory! An evidence of moral power almost unprecedented! . . . Mark what I say: Gen. J. was never stronger, and if he vetoes the bank, instead of it weakening him, it will give him greater strength."

Early in 1834 Mr. Stevenson became afflicted with a serious trouble of the liver. He suffered to such an extent that he resigned from his seat in the House and retired to private life. He had served in the House for thirteen sessions and had been Speaker during seven years. They were eventful years in the political history of the country, witnessing many of the most important events. His nomination as Minister to England had been sent to the Senate prior to his resignation from the House. This position had been vacant for some time. The Senate rejected the nomination of Mr. Stevenson by a vote of twenty-three to twenty-two. It was charged against him that in naming his committees in the House he had done so to curry favor with the President in order to secure the diplomatic position to which he had been named. The President attempted to explain matters, but the Senate refused to give credence to the explanation. President Jackson then refused to make another nomination, thus leaving the Ministership vacant.

Mr. Stevenson visited the springs of Virginia in search for health, finally fully recovering. When the Democratic National Convention met in Baltimore in 1836, Mr. Stevenson presided over its deliberations. He was a warm advocate of the nomination of Mr. Van Buren, and used the power and influence as president of the convention to bring that nomination about.

The nomination of Mr. Stevenson as Minister to England was finally confirmed, and he was in London during the campaign which resulted in the election of Mr. Van Buren as President. He was in London when Queen Victoria ascended the throne as successor to her uncle, William IV. He seems to have made a favorable impression on the British Ministry as well as upon Queen Victoria. He remained in London until the election of William Henry Harrison as President brought about his recall. This ended his political life.

JOHN BELL

JOHN BELL—Speaker of the House of Representatives in the second session of the Twenty-third Congress. Born near Nashville, Tennessee, February 15, 1797. Educated at Cumberland College, Tennessee. Died at Cumberland Iron Work, September 10, 1869.

John Bell had a distinguished, though stormy, political career. First a Democrat and follower of Andrew Jackson, he became one of the founders of the Whig party, and when that party died, after its defeat in 1852, he ranked as a leader in the Constitutional-Union party, and in 1860 was its candidate for President.

He was born on a farm in what then was almost an unbroken wilderness. It was in what was then the backwoods of Tennessee. His father was in moderate circumstances, but a firm believer in education, and carefully prepared his young son to enter college, which he did, and graduated at the age of seventeen. It has been said of him that he was an attentive student, ranking high in his classes. It was supposed he would follow in the footsteps of his father and spend his life as an agriculturist, but the young man had other views. He was ambitious and looked upon the profession of law as the best opening into the life he aspired to enter. Leaving college, he entered the office of a lawyer to be trained in that profession. He quickly mastered enough of the science to secure admission to the bar. He chose Franklin for his future home, and there began the practice.

It is hard to estimate rightly such a character as John Bell. He was a man of marked ability and such amiable manners as to soon win popularity with the people. He was a friend and, for a number of years, a follower of Andrew Jackson, yet they differed so greatly on some matters that an estrangement followed. He opposed strenuously the action of President Jackson in ordering the removal of the deposits, and later his issue of the famous "Specie Circular." He was a friend of the United States Bank, yet refused to vote for a renewal of its charter. His alleged reasons for such a course was that he was sure the President would veto the bill if passed, and that it had a political look he did not like. He was an admirer of Calhoun, yet opposed his nullification schemes, and voted for the "Enforcement Act." At first he was opposed to protection in tariff matters, but later became one of its ardent champions. He was opposed to secession, yet when war came opposed coercion. He was not a great statesman, but was generally a safe legislator.

As a lawyer he quickly won his way at the bar, but from the very first gave much of his time to politics. He was but nineteen when admitted to the bar, and within a year was elected to the Tennessee Senate. He had not reached mature years. After serving one term he declined a renomination, and for ten years applied himself pretty

closely to the practice of his profession, making friends, however, in every direction. He was urged to stand as a candidate for Congress in 1827, and after some consideration agreed to do so. The opposing candidate was Felix Grundy, one of the great men of Tennessee and a favorite of Jackson. Grundy was one of the quartet of young members who forced the reluctant Madison to advise Congress to declare war against Great Britain. He had been a very popular man with the masses, and, as has been said, was a favorite of Jackson, who was then looming up for the presidency.

A very bitter campaign followed, yet such was the popularity of Bell, and so strong did he prove himself to be on the stump, that he was triumphantly elected. He entered the Twentieth Congress. It was the last Congress under the presidency of the younger Adams. All Tennessee had been in a fever over the defeat of Jackson in his first race, and it was a distinctive mark in the history of Mr. Bell that he could win against the wishes of the hero of the Hermitage. At once there sprang up a rivalry between Bell and James K. Polk, who a few years later became President.

At that time the question of selling the stock owned by the government in the United States Bank was under discussion. This he strongly opposed, thus showing the independent character of the new member. He also early in his congressional career took strong grounds against the system of internal improvements, then so urgently favored by Mr. Clay. He was willing for the construction of roads, but saw a constitutional objection to the building of canals by the Government. He was so successful in his first term that he was re-elected almost without opposition. He took an active part in almost all the debates. Of his powers in that direction Mr. Benton, in his "Thirty Years' View," said he "was a forcible speaker and always ready for debate. His resources seemed inexhaustible; he was a master of invective."

He served fourteen years in the House, two under the administration of John Quincy Adams, eight under Jackson, and four under Van Buren. They were exciting terms. The overthrow of the United States Bank, the nullification attempt in South Carolina, and the establishment of a sub-treasury system were the exciting issues, while the tariff and internal improvement questions played a very important part.

Mr. Bell strongly opposed the removal of the deposits from the bank as ordered by the President. He held, in several speeches, that such removal was contrary to the Constitution. There had been some friction between him and the President before that, but the final parting of the ways came then. Mr. Bell was in favor of the bank, but when the question of granting a re-charter came to a head, he voted against it, this, as he declared, not because he was opposed to the bank, but because its passage would be profitless as the President would surely

veto it, and because he believed the request for a re-charter was a political movement intended to embarrass the administration.

He had entered public life as a warm admirer of Calhoun, and at first had stood his friend when differences arose between Calhoun and President Jackson. When South Carolina, at the instigation, as it was believed, of Mr. Calhoun, sought to nullify the tariff act passed by Congress, Mr. Bell supported President Jackson, and warmly advocated the enactment of what is known as the "Enforcement Bill," a bill giving the President abundant power to enforce obedience to any act of Congress. This estranged him from Calhoun, and they never became reconciled. He supported the compromise tariff bill of Mr. Clay, and ever afterward was a friend to what Clay called his "American system," a system of framing tariff laws so as to furnish protection to American industries.

He was a friend to economy in the administration of public affairs, and took every opportunity to enforce his views on the House. He was also a great stickler for the dignity and prerogatives of the House, especially as to the appropriation of money. On one occasion the House had incorporated in one of its appropriation bills a provision that any surplus there might remain in the treasury at the end of the year should be distributed among the States. The Senate struck out the provision, and in conference refused to recede from the position it had taken. Mr. Bell discussed the question at great length, saying among other things:

The question is one of vast magnitude, of the greatest importance, and connected directly with the permanent interest and welfare of the whole country. We have now to decide whether this, the popular branch of the National Legislature, whether we, the representatives of the people, to whom the Constitution has intrusted in an especial manner the guardianship and the duty of preserving the public treasure, shall surrender up our trust, abandon our own views of public duty, and conform to the wishes of the Senate. A principle of deep interest is thus involved in this question besides that of mere expediency. In relation to the particular measure under consideration, can anyone doubt the line of duty thus plainly marked out to us? Are we not bound in justice to ourselves, in justice to the Constitution and to the best interests of the country, firmly to adhere to our first resolve? Upon the point of expediency, whatever doubt may have existed in the minds of any, whether there would be a surplus of any considerable amount at the end of the year, when this proposition was first submitted, surely now, since the land bill has been laid upon the table, and not the slightest prospect remains of reviving it at the present session, there is no longer any ground of uncertainty as to that question. All must now admit not only that there will be a surplus, but that it will be a very large one; and the question is now presented, and must be decided by the vote which we are about to take, whether the fifteen or twenty millions in the Treasury, over and above the demands of the public service, will be more secure when deposited with and distributed among the several States of the Union, or in State banks over which we have no control, whose condition at this moment is inflated, uncertain, and perilous in the highest degree. Those who think the States less safe and trustworthy than the numerous State banks which hold the public moneys in deposit will, of course, be against us.

Another great question is presented, and must be decided by our present action. It is, whether we shall suffer a surplus revenue, the unavoidable and unforeseen result of past legislation, to remain in the National Treasury to tempt the next Congress, as it has done the present one, to swell the expenditures of the Government in a degree and in a manner wholly inconsistent with every idea of economy. I do not intend to enter further into the argument. I have observed, at another step of the progress of this measure, that I considered the argument, both for and against, fully before the country; and I conclude by moving that the House do insist upon its disagreement to the Senate's amendment.

It was the old and ever recurring fight between the House and the Senate over which body holds the purse strings of the Government. It has been attended several times with very angry debates. The public long ago found out that while the House proposes, it is the Senate which disposes.

As the second term of President Jackson drew toward its close the question of a successor began to disturb the public. It was known, and was frequently advertised, that the President would insist that his faithful follower, Mr. Van Buren, should be chosen. This did not meet with favor in all parts of the country. Mr. Bell took another road, and gave his support to Hugh L. White, of Tennessee. This aroused the wrath of the President, and he let it be known that any supporter of White would, for all future time, be *persona non grata* at the seat of power. This did not disturb Mr. Bell. He had an independent way of doing business. About that time Speaker Stevenson announced that he intended to resign the Speakership, and did so resign, leaving his successor to be chosen at the second session of the Twenty-third Congress. Several aspirants appeared for the vacancy, among them being Representative Wilde, of Georgia; James K. Polk, and Mr. Bell, of Tennessee. It was a stubborn contest and required a number of ballots before it was decided. On the first three ballots Mr. Wilde led, and then Mr. Polk forged ahead for three ballots. It was a clear fight between the friends and opponents of Van Buren, and the opponents finally won, Mr. Bell receiving a majority on the tenth ballot. The disagreement between Mr. Bell and President Jackson had reached a climax some time before, but Bell's success in this instance aroused the old Hero to renewed wrath.

Usually the Speaker on taking the chair confines his remarks to a few words of thanks, but Mr. Bell departed from this custom and let out a little of the virus that was in him. As an illustration of the character of the man, the speech is worth reproducing. He said:

With the greatest sincerity I declare to you that, although I am duly and gratefully impressed by this mark of partiality and confidence of the House, and by no means insensible to the distinction intended to be conferred on me, it is not without some distrust of the wisdom of my course in accepting this station which your choice has assigned me. Without the slightest experience in the chair, it may be justly apprehended that your selection of a presiding officer has been too much influenced by personal kindness and friendship. And I shall be quite happy if the

public interest shall suffer no detriment through a defective administration of the duties of the chair. In ordinary times, under ordinary circumstances, I could flatter myself that, by diligent application, I might be able, in a short time, to supply the want of experience, and to justify in some degree the confidence indicated by the House. That more than usual embarrassments must be encountered at this moment by an incumbent of the chair will be admitted by all. The impatience, not to say irritation—the natural result of a protracted session—the excitement growing out of those sharp conflicts of opinion upon questions of public policy—conflicts exasperated and embittered at the present moment in an extraordinary degree—all present themselves to increase the difficulties and call forth the exertions of a new and unpracticed incumbent of the chair. And I feel, gentlemen, that whatever exertions may be made on my part must be in vain without your forbearance—nay, that they must fail altogether, without your cordial support and cooperation. When I reflect how great are the interests connected with this House, its character and action—interests not of a day nor of a party, but of all time, of posterity, and of all the parties which are or ever will be arrayed against each other—and when I further reflect how much the character and action of this House depends upon a skilful, firm, and impartial administration of the duties of this chair, I confess I feel the deepest solicitude.

It is not so generally understood, I regret to believe, as it should be, in how great a degree the measures of a legislative assembly are modified and influenced by the manner of its deliberations. All will concede that if it shall ever happen that this body shall fall into disrepute, and fail to command the respect and confidence of the people, our institutions will be in the greatest peril. Not only the character of the House, the wisdom and efficiency of its actions, but the existence of our admirable frame of polity itself may be said to depend, in some degree, upon the order and dignity of the deliberations of this House. While, then, I entreat the indulgence of the House to my own defects, I earnestly invoke the assistance of every member of it in endeavoring to maintain and preserve, so far as depends upon the proceedings of this body, those great and primary interests of constitutional government and freedom, in support of which, I am sure, whatever difference of opinion there may be on points of construction, policy, of administration, there is not a heart here, nor an American heart anywhere, that does not beat high.

As Speaker, Mr. Bell was firm, and sometimes disposed to be arbitrary. His old party associates were hurling charges of party treason against him, and such charges naturally irritated him. He had endeavored to defeat Van Buren for the presidential nomination, but had failed. He was, however, successful in preventing Van Buren getting the electoral vote of Tennessee. This was a great triumph, proving beyond question the strength and popularity of Bell in his own State. Van Buren was the choice of Jackson, and Jackson was regarded as the idol of Tennessee.

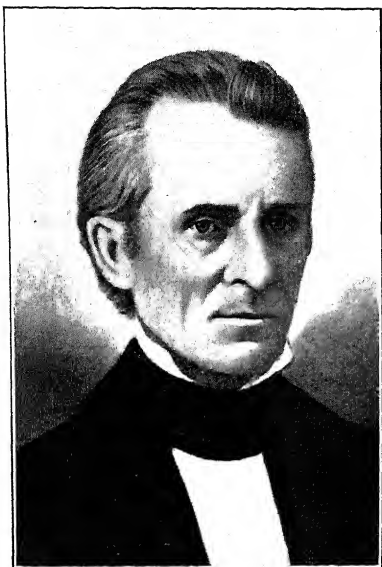
Mr. Bell served as Speaker for the one session only. When the Twenty-fourth Congress assembled Van Buren was President, and his friends were in a majority in the House. Bell was again a candidate, opposing his old enemy, James K. Polk, but this time Polk was the winner. Polk, like Van Buren, was a protege of Jackson. On the floor of the House Mr. Bell very early began to make trouble for the Van Buren administration. Van Buren's distribution of the patronage

did not suit Mr. Bell, and day after day he kept flinging hot darts at the sage of Kinderhook, but the sage was impervious to attack. All he wanted was to get the votes for his pet measures, and in a large degree he was successful in that direction until near the close of his term. Attacks neither angered nor annoyed him. Before it came time to nominate a successor to Mr. Van Buren, Mr. Bell was permanently out of the Democratic party. He was an announced Whig, a follower of Henry Clay. Van Buren was nominated and defeated at the polls in that wonderful "Hard Cider" campaign. This defeat brought a change in the official life of Mr. Bell.

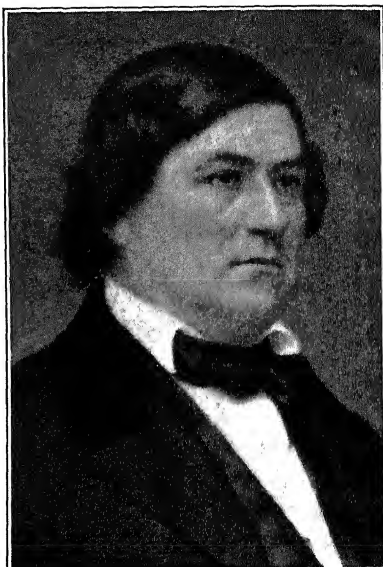
Before his inauguration General Harrison, President-elect, tendered to Mr. Bell a seat in his Cabinet as Secretary of War. His services in the Cabinet were short, too short for him to make a record as an administrative officer. The death of President Harrison just a month after his inauguration brought John Tyler into the presidency. Tyler had been named for Vice-President by the same party which nominated Harrison for President, and on the same platform. He had hardly taken his seat as head of the nation than he began to turn away from the party which had elected him, and to accept the policies of the Democrats. This caused his cabinet to resign, all but Webster, who remained at the head of the Department of State until he could conclude a treaty then being negotiated with Great Britain.

Retiring from the Cabinet, Mr. Bell returned to Tennessee and devoted himself to the practice of his profession. In 1847 Mr. Bell was elected to the United States Senate, and re-elected, serving twelve years. They were years of momentous interests to the country at large. Slavery was fast becoming the dominating issue. The war with Mexico had ended, and although the Whigs had elected their candidate for President, factions soon began to show in the party ranks. Peace with Mexico brought a long trail of disputes as to what should be done with the territory obtained by the peace. Texas was already a slave State, but there were other parts in which slavery did not exist, could not exist under the Mexican laws.

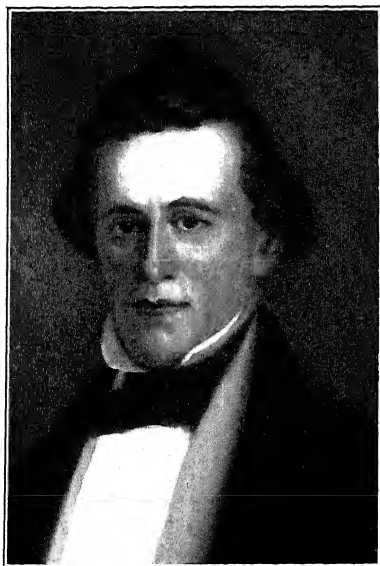
Abolition societies were being organized in many of the Northern States. The South demanded a new and more stringent law providing for the return of escaping slaves, and such a law was finally enacted, setting fire to the North. It was signed by President Fillmore, who had succeeded to that office on the death of President Taylor. It split the Whig party. Threats of disunion were freely indulged in. Mr. Bell stood steadfastly for the Union, and delivered in the Senate several speeches in which he announced his devotion to the Union and his abhorrence of secession. Following the enactment of the Fugitive Slave Law came the effort to repeal the Missouri Compromise, and the establishment of what was known as "Squatter Sovereignty."



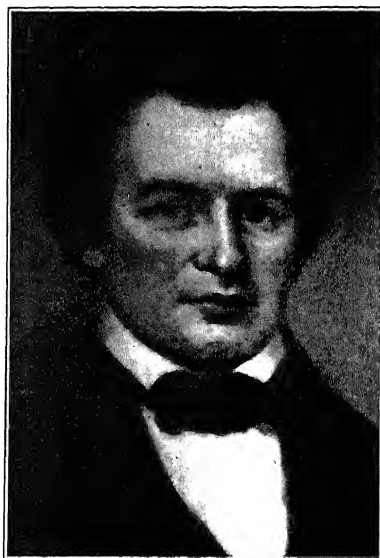
JAMES K. POLK, Tennessee
Twenty-fourth and Twenty-fifth
Congresses



R. M. T. HUNTER, Virginia
Twenty-sixth Congress



JOHN WHITE, Kentucky
Twenty-seventh Congress



JOHN W. JONES, Virginia
Twenty-eighth Congress

Mr. Bell opposed the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, as he did the Squatter Sovereignty policy of Mr. Douglas. A Southern man, he believed that the faith of the nation, as pledged in that Compromise, should be religiously observed. On every question in which slavery was involved he took a moderate course, contending that the North would not tolerate any action which would endanger the interests of the South, and that there were no grounds for a dissolution of the Union.

The Whig party had disappeared as a potential political factor after its disastrous defeat in 1852. The new Republican party was making headway in the North; the Democratic party had split over the Kansas question, those opposing slavery organizing under the name of "Free Soil Democrats." Disunion was looming up, and lovers of the Union undertook to form a new party, and assumed the hyphenated name of "Constitutional-Union" party. Its motto was: "The Constitution as it is; the Union as it was." Under that banner they prepared to enter the campaign in 1860.

The Democratic party presented two candidates: Breckinridge, the candidate of the Southern wing, and Douglas, as the candidate of the Northern wing. The Constitutional-Union party held a convention and nominated as its candidates John Bell for President and Edward Everett for Vice-President.

The ticket carried three States with an electoral vote of thirty. It had no possible chance from the beginning of the campaign. The feeling in both North and South was wrought to too high a pitch for neutrals to accomplish anything. Mr. Bell made a number of speeches, but in none that was published was there any of the old fire that had distinguished him in other campaigns. He was for the Union—if it could be maintained with peace. He was opposed to disunion, but was not favorable to preventing disunion by force of arms.

The war came; some of the Southern States seceded, among them his own State of Tennessee. During it all he remained without taking any part. He lived to see the Union restored and a citizen of his own State, Andrew Johnson, President.

JAMES KNOX POLK

JAMES KNOX POLK—Speaker of the Twenty-fourth and Twenty-fifth Congresses. Born in Mecklenburg, North Carolina, November 2, 1795. Son of Samuel and Jane (Knox) Polk. Educated at University of North Carolina. Married, January 1, 1824, Miss Sarah Childress. Died in Nashville, Tennessee, June 15, 1849.

A Representative in Congress for fourteen years, four of which he was Speaker of the House; Governor of Tennessee, and President of the United States, yet the name and career of James K. Polk is almost

entirely lost to the American people, except in a few pages in history. It was a career of high official positions, yet almost colorless. He originated no great policy, and when he undertook to discuss any policy, his speeches left the hearer in doubt as to whether he favored or opposed the measure under consideration. It seemed difficult for him to ever come to a direct and positive decision on any question.

He was born in the little town where America's first declaration of independence was formulated and given to the public. His father was a plain but industrious farmer. His mother was a descendant of that rare old theological gladiator, John Knox, the "thorn in the flesh" and tormentor of Queen Mary. As a boy James was not of strong physique, and this prevented him from getting a fair start in life.

In 1806, when James was eleven years old, his parents removed to Tennessee and made a settlement in what was known as the Duck River Valley. The Polk family were among the pioneer settlers of this famous valley. There James really began his school life. He was studious, but his physical health was so poor that his father determined upon giving him a mercantile career, instead of training him for the life of a farmer. He put the boy in the care of a merchant, but the boy had other views, and so rebelled against the life intended for him that within a very few weeks the father gave way and the boy was sent to the academy.

There he proved an industrious student, especially in mathematics and the languages. In 1815 he entered the University of North Carolina, and was graduated from that institution three years later. He chose the law for his profession, and upon leaving college entered the office of Felix Grundy, one of the great lawyers of Tennessee, and a leading politician of the State. The elder Polk was a follower of Jefferson, and had instilled into the mind of his son the doctrines of government as advocated and taught by the great sage of Monticello. Under the leadership and teaching of Grundy, young Polk soon became a warm admirer of the "Hero of the Hermitage," and ever afterward was his devoted follower.

In 1820 Mr. Polk was admitted to the bar and chose as his future home the town of Columbia. As an attorney he was only moderately successful, owing, possibly, to his devoting much of his time to politics. It was the "era of good feeling," under the Presidency of Monroe. It was an era of prosperity to the country; the Bank of the United States had been chartered, thus giving the country a stable currency. Under it business had revived and everything looked toward financial peace.

Young Polk's first political office was that of clerk of the State House of Representatives. This added fuel to his political aspirations, and in 1823 he was elected to the State Legislature. If he was active in that body the record does not disclose it, but he must have made a good impression on the people, for in 1825 he was nominated by the

Democrats for Congress. His election followed, and for fourteen years he sat in the National House of Representatives, the last four years as Speaker.

John Quincy Adams was President, having been elected to that office by the House of Representatives. Mr. Polk at once arrayed himself with those who opposed the administration on every possible occasion. He early gave demonstration of his partisanship of what was called "States' Rights." In several speeches he held that the President and Vice-President should be elected by a direct vote of the people. He was not a ready debater and on nearly all important occasions found himself worsted in the argument because of his lack of correct information, or from misunderstanding the designs of the fathers of the republic. In some of the States electors were chosen by the Legislature. That system Mr. Polk vigorously assailed, advocating selection by popular vote in each district, a system that finally obtained a few years later in some of the States.

Of his opposition to the Adams administration one of his biographers says: "As a critic of the Adams administration Polk did not rise above the political claptrap of the day. All that can be said in his favor in this respect is that he spoke less frequently than did some of his colleagues. Even his private letters are tinctured with a bias and a bitterness that do him no credit." This extract is taken from a biography written by one of his friends, and is a fair picture of the partisan animosity which colored all of his political actions.

He remained a member of the House during the whole of Jackson's administration, and was at the beck and call of the chief at all times. He was accused by the Whigs of being a "spy" for Jackson. That is a rather harsh term, but it is a matter of history that he was frequently the bearer of the President's mandates to his friends, and it is very probable he reported to his chief the gossip he could gather. At any rate he ever stood for and championed every proposition or suggestion of the President. He was his steadfast friend in the fight against the bank. It is not necessary, nor would it be appropriate, to here follow the contest between President Jackson and the bank. It is enough to say that in every position he took, Polk was his henchman, ready at all times to do his bidding.

So it was with every other question which arose in those stormy eight years. By training and inclination he was an opponent of the protective policy, yet he stood by the President when South Carolina undertook nullification. He was the defender of the famous "Specie Circular," that wrought such disastrous ruin commercially. When the President was assailed for his removals from office, Polk was among the first to take the floor in his defense. When Jackson determined that Van Buren should be his successor, Polk became an ardent champion of

the "Magician of Kinderhook," notwithstanding Judge White of his own State was an aspirant for that office.

During the first session of the Twenty-third Congress, when it became rumored that Speaker Stevenson intended to resign at the close of the session, Mr. Polk was seized with an ambition to become his successor. He began at once to sound his friends, and by the time Mr. Stevenson finally announced his resignation Mr. Polk was a full-fledged candidate for the succession. This brought a division in the Democratic party in Tennessee which was ruinous, resulting in the practical overthrow of the power of Jackson in the State.

The second session of the Twenty-third Congress opened December 2, 1834. By that time there was a strong opposition in the House to the President, and John Bell defeated Mr. Polk for the Speakership, in direct opposition to the wishes of Jackson. The contest was waged in Tennessee months before Congress assembled. The leading papers of the State were under the control of friends of Mr. Bell. This was a serious handicap to Mr. Polk, and a source of acute embarrassment to President Jackson. To escape, it was determined to start a new paper in Nashville. It was accordingly launched through the efforts of Mr. Polk under the countenance of the President. To their astonishment and disgust they found in its editor a staunch friend of Bell.

The advent of the Twenty-fourth Congress found the Democrats once more in control in the House. This time Mr. Polk made good, and was elected Speaker, defeating Mr. Bell. His days of trouble were just ahead of him. Every student of American political history will recall the great fight for the right of petition made by John Quincy Adams, who had entered the House of Representatives shortly after his term as President expired. Adams was of fighting stock. He knew every trick there was in parliamentary procedure. His resources were endless; his courage, and his audacity really sublime. There was nothing so gratifying to him as to get his opponent into a parliamentary quandary. He was the torment of Mr. Polk's life as Speaker. On numerous occasions he forced him to rule in direct opposition to the wishes of his party friends, and as frequently forced him to make rulings so openly and defiantly against true parliamentary rules as to make him ridiculous to the House.

Mr. Polk was not by any means an admirable presiding officer. He lacked the thorough knowledge of parliamentary laws necessary for success in such a position. His old habit of endeavoring to evade direct decisions, and his ever-present fear of offending someone, all militated against his proving one of the great Speakers. However, he was sustained by the weight of the President, and was easily re-elected in the Twenty-fifth Congress.

By the close of that Congress Jackson was endeavoring to regain his position as absolute director of his party in Tennessee. A Gover-

nor was to be elected, and after long thought the conclusion was reached that Mr. Polk was the most available candidate to re-establish the Democratic party in power. There had been a hard but unsuccessful struggle to carry the State for Van Buren. Maneuvering by them in the State continued during the term of his Speakership.

During the last session of the Twenty-fifth Congress there was an almost continuous riot. The Democratic party was no longer omnipotent. What its enemies called its misdeeds were bringing a harvest of woe. Even Jackson was not spared by the Whigs, and in this they were joined by a number of Democrats. They vented their spleen on the Speaker, not altogether for his shortcomings, as much as to humiliate Jackson, who had made him Speaker. They ridiculed him and showered him with invectives. When the usual resolution of thanks to the Speaker was presented, S. S. Prentiss denounced it with vehemence. He accused the Speaker of playing "a political game," and declared: "A more perfect party Speaker, one who would be more disposed to bend the rules of the House to meet the purposes of his own side in politics, never had pressed the soft and ample cushions of that gorgeous chair." The resolution finally prevailed but by a majority so small as to really be humiliating.

In the meantime the contest to make things easy for the nomination of Mr. Polk for Governor of Tennessee went forward, as did that to effect the nomination of Van Buren to be his own successor. Polk received the nomination and made an active and successful race for the election. He was inaugurated as Governor on the 14th day of October, 1839. This success was looked upon as making that of Van Buren certain the next year.

Within a few hours after his inauguration the Tennessee Senate opened up the question of nominating Polk for Vice-President on the ticket with Van Buren. The Senate passed a resolution of that character and sent it to the House. There it was sought to be amended, but all attempts in that direction were voted down. The Democratic members of Congress from Tennessee took up the matter and began the usual pre-convention log-rolling. So far as any outward show, Mr. Polk was perfectly passive in the matter. There was some talk of having the convention make no nomination for Vice-President, leaving that matter open for the voters to decide. That was finally done, and Johnson, of Kentucky, was elected Vice-President by the Senate.

Polk was renominated for Governor, but was defeated at the polls. He made a vigorous campaign, attacking the Whigs with much more than his usual vigor, and with much more clearness of expression. After his defeat Mr. Polk went into retirement for a time. During this time Van Buren paid a visit to Jackson. Polk made another race for Governor. It also was an unsuccessful race.

As the term of President Tyler drew to a close much anxiety was felt as to his probable successor. It was known that Mr. Van Buren would again try for the nomination, and his enemies began the search for a man who could beat him in the convention. Both parties held their nominating conventions in those days, more than a year before the election. Mr. Polk began sounding among his friends as to what his chances might be should he stand before the convention. He had the backing of Jackson, and while that was a tower of strength, the name of the Old Hero was not as potent as it had been a few years before. After many consultations Mr. Polk finally let it be known that he would try for the nomination.

Van Buren's nomination was fully expected, not so much because his party wanted him, as because it looked as if no one could command votes enough in the convention to defeat him. The Sage of Kinderhook was certain of his nomination, and began to map out the campaign he intended to make, as Clay was sure to be his opponent.

So certain was his nomination believed to be that members of the party began to look around for a man for the second place. Two names were frequently mentioned—Col. Richard Johnson, of Kentucky, and James K. Polk, of Tennessee. Polk, however, did not intend it should go that way. He was after the higher place or nothing. At last a change in the date of holding the convention occurred. This gave the enemies of Van Buren longer time to organize against him, and to work out a plan for his defeat. Tennessee was a doubtful State, and it was bruited about that no Democrat could carry it but Polk. This was a strong card in his favor, and it was worked for all it was worth.

The Convention assembled at Baltimore, with everything in doubt, but the chances favoring Van Buren. In fact, a majority of the delegates had been instructed for him. He had taken a stand against the annexation of Texas, and that had alienated the South from him, and a number of delegates openly repudiated their instructions, while others contented themselves by declaring they would abandon him after the first ballot. Finally a scheme to defeat him was devised. It was to adopt a rule which would require a two-thirds vote to nominate. While a majority had been instructed for him, there were enough malcontents to secure the adoption of the new rule.

After a day or two of fruitless balloting the name of Polk was brought forward. On the first ballot on that day he received forty-four votes. When the vote was announced one of the delegates who had voted for Van Buren stated that he had voted for Mr. Van Buren because he had been instructed to do so, but Van Buren could not be nominated and that he now intended to cast his vote for "James K. Polk, the bosom friend of Andrew Jackson, and a pure, whole-hogged Democrat, the known enemy of banks and distribution." This was

enough to fire the convention, and before the next ballot was completed the name of Van Buren was withdrawn. Polk was nominated through the new rule, and that rule has plagued the Democrats ever since. Under its operation several worthy Democrats who were decidedly the favorites of the party have been defeated for the nomination, the latest being Champ Clark in 1912, and William Gibbs McAdoo in 1924.

Polk was unknown to the people at large. It is true he had served several terms as a member of the House of Representatives, and had twice been the Speaker, but to the country at large he was unknown. The Whigs made very merry over that fact, and they placarded fences and barns with the painted words, "Who is Polk?" The Whig papers carried the words in large letters on their front page, while Whig orators made the air resound with the question. That is where they blundered.

The campaign opened with three great issues before the people. Of course, one of those issues was the tariff, Mr. Polk being a pronounced free-trader. The second was the annexation of Texas. The third was the northern boundary of Oregon. The United States claimed all the territory up to fifty-four degrees and forty minutes. Great Britain placed it far south of that line. The campaign slogan of the Democrats was "Fifty-four forty, or fight." The whole country was aflame, and it carried the day for Mr. Polk, just as "He kept us out of war" carried the day for Mr. Wilson in 1916. Mr. Polk was the first "dark horse" ever nominated for President by either party. He overthrew at the election Henry Clay, the idol of the Whigs.

As to the annexation of Texas, he was forestalled by the action of John C. Calhoun, Secretary of State in the Tyler administration. Just forty-eight hours before Polk was to be inaugurated Secretary Calhoun despatched a courier to Texas, bearing the resolution of annexation, and urgent arguments for hasty action on the part of Texas. The annexation was made, war came. In about all connected with the war, Marcy, the new Secretary of War, was the prime mover. He was one of the most forcible characters ever holding a Cabinet position. If the President ever hesitated, the Secretary knew how to spur his resolution. It is needless to here tell the story of the war which followed the annexation. Its final results were momentous. We took from Mexico large territories, and later bought from her ruler other large territories, and they opened up again the slavery agitation, an agitation that never slacked up until slavery was finally done away with as the result of the Civil War.

Two good things, however, did flow from that war. One was the establishment of a Naval Academy at Annapolis, an educational institution that has come to be one of the great educational institutions of the world. The other was the founding of a great home for the officers and privates of the regular army. When General Scott captured Mex-

ico he made a heavy levy on some of the rich inhabitants. He had long been urging Congress to establish a home for the disabled regulars, but without success. He applied the money received from the Mexicans to this purpose. The naval school at Annapolis had been established without any action upon the part of Congress, being wholly the work of Secretary of the Navy Bancroft. So the great home for the regulars was established without at first receiving the consent of that body of lawmakers.

The settlement of the Oregon boundary question was another thing. In his first message to Congress Mr. Polk called attention to the joint occupancy by the United States and Great Britain of the disputed territory, and that the convention under which the joint occupancy existed might be determined by giving a year's notice. He then said: "Should Congress think it proper to make provision for giving that notice, we shall have reached a period when the national rights in Oregon must either be abandoned or firmly maintained. That they cannot be abandoned without a sacrifice of both national honor and interest is too clear to admit of doubt."

This was strong language and aroused the greatest enthusiasm in every part of the country. Men of all parties endorsed it, and gave the President unstinted praise for his firmness in declaring that our national interest must be maintained. It angered Great Britain, and there was free talk of war over there. President Polk, however, backed down from this position, and finally permitted Mr. Buchanan, his Secretary of State, to agree to a treaty abandoning the claim of "Fifty-four forty," that was to be maintained, or a fight was to follow, according to campaign pledges, and to accept the line as proposed by Great Britain.

When this became known a storm of indignation swept the country, leading Democrats being the loudest in their denunciations. A single quotation will show the feeling among the Democrats. A Senator from North Carolina had attempted to explain away the action of the President. Edward A. Hannegan, one of the most prominent of the Democratic Senators, replied, in which he used this language concerning the President:

"So long as one human eye remains to linger on the page of history the story of his abasement will be read, sending him and his name together to an infamy so profound, a damnation so deep, that the hand of resurrection will never drag him forth. So far as the whole tenor, spirit and meaning of the remarks of the Senator from North Carolina are concerned, if they speak the language of James K. Polk, then James K. Polk has spoken words of falsehood with the tongue of a serpent."

All this was said without anyone calling the angry Senator to order. Would any Senator in these days be permitted to use such language re-

garding a President? It must be remembered that the words quoted were not those of a political enemy, but of a political friend, and one, too, who held a high place in the Democratic councils.

Mr. Polk had declared himself as favoring a one-term policy. Following that he was not a candidate to succeed himself at the end of his four years of office. At the end of his term he retired to his home in Tennessee, and died in a few weeks. Of him, Mr. Benton, in his "Thirty Years' View," says:

"He died at Nashville, Tennessee, soon after he returned home, and within three months after his retirement from the Presidency. He was an exemplary man in his private life, moral in all his deportment, and patriotic in his public life, aiming at the good of his country always. It was his misfortune to have been brought into the presidency by an intrigue not of his own, but of others, and the evils of which became an inheritance of his position, and the sole cause of all that was objectionable in his administration. . . . All the faults of his administration were the faults of his Cabinet; all the merits were his own, in defiance of them. . . . The war with Mexico, under the impulse of speculators, and upon an intrigue with Santa Anna, was the great blot on his administration; and that was wholly the work of the intriguing part of his Cabinet. . . . He was sincerely the friend of the Union, and against whatever would endanger it, especially that absorption of the whole of Mexico which had advocates in those who stood near him."

The intriguers of the Cabinet to which Mr. Benton refers were Secretary of the Treasury, Robert J. Walker; Secretary of War, William L. Marcy; Attorney General, Nathan Clifford, and Postmaster General, Cave Johnson. The appointment of Walker had been very distasteful to former President Jackson, yet he proved to be one of the really great finance ministers the country has had. Clifford was sent to Mexico to negotiate a treaty of peace, and was afterward given a place on the bench of the Supreme Court.

ROBERT MERCER TALIAFERRO HUNTER

ROBERT MERCER TALIAFERRO HUNTER—Speaker of the House of Representatives in the Twenty-sixth Congress. Born in Essex County, Virginia, April 21, 1809. Son of James and Maria (Garnett) Hunter. Educated at University of Virginia. Married Miss Mary Evalina Dandridge, October 4, 1836. Died in Essex County, Virginia, July 10, 1887.

The father of the subject of this sketch, James Hunter, was a landed proprietor of high standing in the community. In his earlier manhood life he had been engaged in merchandising, but, like most Virginians, his prime object was to become a planter. His mother was

a member of the Garnett family, noted in the history of Virginia. No better opening for this sketch can be found than the following, taken from a correspondent of the Richmond Dispatch of December 13, 1891:

The movement inaugurated to remove the remains of the late R. M. T. Hunter to some point near Richmond, and to erect an appropriate monument to his memory, will recall to many who have passed the meridian of life the exciting political contests of the three decades from 1830 to 1860, when Whig and Democrat struggled for supremacy in the State and Federal Governments, when the hustings was the arena upon which the intellectual gladiators of each party met in fierce, yet courteous, debate, giving thrust for thrust and blow for blow.

These battles were waged with varying fortunes, sometimes one champion and sometimes another winning the favor of the people, who turned out almost en masse to attend these forensic displays, the adherents of each, in turn, cheering themselves hoarse when some telling point was made by their favorite leader, and at another were hushed into silence by the magic power of their eloquence. In those days every Virginian was a politician, and every measure, State and Federal, was fully discussed upon the hustings, which was the great medium through which the people were informed upon public affairs. But few of the present generation, except such as have been students of history, will recall any memory of the questions which were discussed, or the history of the leaders of public opinion, and to many even the names of these intellectual giants are unknown. It may not be untimely, therefore, nor without interest to your readers, to give a brief sketch of the life and services of one who was an active participant in these contests, and who for more than twenty-five years was ranged on one side or the other of every important public question which divided the parties; who, after two terms of service in the State Legislature, served eight years in the House of Representatives, and by successive elections was for fourteen years a Senator of the United States, and subsequently held high positions under the short-lived government of the Confederate States.

R. M. T. Hunter was an active participant in the political contests referred to. As an orator on the hustings he had few equals in his day, and his influence was great among the people of his congressional district, and later with those of the whole State. Before entering upon the story of his political career it will be well to tell something of the days of his boyhood and youth.

His mother was a woman of great intellectual powers, and she early developed a strong love of literature in her gifted son. In her girlhood days she was fond of literature of the higher order, and this love for literature remained with her during all her mature life. Mothers are usually the first to discover the talents of their children. It was so with this Virginia mother. She early recognized the studious inclination of her boy, and she led him onward in that direction, and it is probable his after ability to use the best and most appropriate word when speaking before the people or from his place in the Senate was due to this early training by his mother.

It is said that even when a child Robert Hunter was grave and thoughtful, given to meditation more than to play. His first education was superintended by his sisters. When he was about eleven

years of age a private teacher was employed to manage a school in the neighborhood. The schoolhouse was some two miles away from his home, and Robert walked that distance each day. He did not like the school, but it was his father's will that he should attend, and his father was one who always saw that his will was obeyed. At this time, when the opportunity offered, the lad would choose the companionship of older persons rather than that of those of his own age.

He was studious and ambitious; his companions at school were not of the order to lead or engage his friendship. Politics, especially the financial condition of the planters, formed the principal topic of conversation at the home fireside, and more especially when guests were present. To those conversations young Robert listened with the deepest interest, and he stored much of what he heard in his memory for future use.

As a rule, the planters of Virginia sent their boys to college as soon as they were qualified to pass the entrance examination. Three institutions of learning were favorites among the planters—Princeton College, in New Jersey; William and Mary, and the University of Virginia. The latter was chosen for young Robert. It was then just beginning its career as an educational center. Robert's father did not live to see his son enter upon his collegiate term, dying a few months before the date fixed for the opening of the university for the admission of students.

Robert Hunter became one of the first students and was one of the first to be graduated. At the close of his college term he entered a law office to study that science. He had already formed his mind as to his future career. Law was the door opening to financial success, as well as the door to political preferment. As has been said, every Virginian was a politician, and no young scion of a Virginia family ever started out in life without having political hopes. When he was ready to begin the practice of his chosen profession, he purchased a farm to begin the life of a planter as well as that of a lawyer.

To add to his desire for a home he was about to take to himself a wife. His marriage took place on the 4th of October, 1836, just two days after his bride had reached the nineteenth year of her age. It was in every respect a happy marriage. In a letter to his sister before the marriage he thus describes his expected bride:

She is young, handsome, intelligent, cheerful, agreeable and good. Do my adjectives startle you? They need not, for they are not extravagant, and yet what I have said is so little like what I want to say that I am tempted to throw my letter into the fire, as I have thrown several before. She is of good family, well connected, reared by a religious mother, and, I believe, high-souled.

In 1835, when he was but twenty-six years of age, he was elected to the House of Delegates, and served four years. Slavery was then, as it was for many years, an absorbing topic. A number of abolition

societies were being organized in the Northern States, and Congress was being besieged by petitions, especially for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia. Mr. Hunter added to his reputation as a speaker during his four years in the State Legislature, and strengthened himself with the people.

In 1837 he was elected to a seat in the national House of Representatives. He at once took a prominent place in that body. His reputation as a speaker of strength had preceded him, and he was cordially welcomed, especially by the other members from the South. He was twice re-elected, but on the third effort for re-election was defeated by a small margin. Two years later he was again returned to the House, remaining a member until he was sent to the Senate, in 1847. In the Twenty-sixth Congress he was elected Speaker of the House.

Entering the Senate in 1847, he remained in that body until he resigned, in 1861, when Virginia passed the ordinance of secession. In the Senate he was always one of the commanding figures, taking part in many of the most memorable debates. While in the House he advocated the annexation of Texas and the compromise on the Oregon question.

He was early a disciple of Calhoun, adopting to the full his doctrine of States' Rights. He was also an advocate of a low tariff. He voted for the Missouri Compromise, although not heartily endorsing it. He accepted it as a solution of a question that was fast dividing the people, threatening to end in secession. His most important service in the Senate was as Chairman of the Committee on Finance. He made an exhaustive report on the coinage. He recommended a reduction of the quantity of silver used in the smaller coins. Securing favorable action on this, it was claimed it resulted in checking the exportation of such coins to foreign countries.

He was the practical author of the tariff act of 1857. This brought a large reduction in customs duties and at the same time enlarged the free list. The result of the act was disastrous to the country, causing a large deficit in the treasury. The bonded system, which permits imported goods to remain in government warehouses at the will of the importer, originated with Mr. Hunter.

He sustained the administration in its dealing with Kansas, favoring the admission of Kansas as a State under the Lecompton constitution. He was an ardent advocate and defender of slavery, and in the Senate delivered an elaborate speech, contending for the right of an owner of slaves to take them into any territory. He had always been a staunch defender of States' Rights, and took every occasion to repeat his views in that direction. His admirers often declared that a speech delivered by him in Richmond was one of the ablest ever delivered in sustaining the right of a State to secede when its people believed their

rights were invaded or jeopardized by the Federal Government. Mr. Hunter aspired to the presidency, and had strong hopes of securing the nomination by the Democratic party in 1860; but the fates were against him.

Mr. Hunter was not among those in the Senate who threatened a disruption of the Union in case a Republican should be elected President, but he believed that a State had the right to secede. He held to his place in the Senate until Virginia passed out of the Union. When his State took that action he followed her, resigning from the Senate. Before doing that he delivered in the Senate one of his ablest speeches, regretting that he could see no way to avoid the crisis then confronting the country.

Leaving the Senate, he gave himself, heart and soul, to the newly-established Confederacy. He and Jefferson Davis had long been friends, and it was no matter of wonder that Mr. Davis should at once invite him to take a prominent position in his administration. He was offered the place of Secretary of State, and at once accepted. In that position he served until Richmond was evacuated. He was one of the three commissioners appointed by the Confederate government to meet President Lincoln at Fortress Monroe in the interest of peace. He attended the meeting, but, as is well known, the conference accomplished nothing. When Richmond surrendered President Lincoln invited a number of the prominent men of Virginia to meet him in Richmond to confer as to the best and speediest means of restoring the Old Dominion to her proper place in the Union, a meeting which was to be held in April, 1865. The meeting was prevented by the assassination of Mr. Lincoln.

Of this projected meeting Mr. Hunter thus wrote to a friend, after giving some account of the conference at Old Point Comfort:

I never saw Mr. Lincoln afterwards, but he was in Richmond soon after the surrender, and, Judge Campbell tells me, expressed a great anxiety to see me, as he was under the impression that my name would have some weight with the South, and that he and I together might agree upon some proposition which would bring the warring sections together.

He expressed much confidence in the honesty of my intention and in my influence with the Southern people, but said he could not wait long, as he was obliged to be in Washington by a certain time.

Judge Campbell told him it was impossible for me to reach Richmond in time to meet him, not knowing that I lived only fifty miles from the city.

Mr. Lincoln went to Washington to meet his death, and Judge Campbell thinks that our meeting might have saved the South much trouble.

Whether this is the case or not, I do not know, but I have always regretted that circumstances prevented our meeting at that time.

The close of the war and the collapse of the Confederacy left Mr. Hunter, as it did so many others of the South, broken in finances. Even before the war, while he was still a member of the United States

Senate, he was beginning to be financially embarrassed. He had a large and growing family, and he entertained lavishly, as did all Virginians. Giving his time and thought to public business, he necessarily was forced to neglect his own private affairs. In addition to this, he had lost heavily during the war. His mill was burnt to the ground and his horses and cattle taken by some of the Union troops.

In May, 1865, Mr. Hunter was arrested and confined for several months in Fort Pulaski. His friends were active in his behalf, and many representations were made to President Johnson, urging that his release would have a good effect on the South and materially aid in bringing about that peace all were wishing for. His release was finally brought about by the actions of his wife. She visited Washington, obtained interviews with the President and with Secretary Seward. So earnest was her pleading that an order for his release was issued.

Returning to his home, he gave his time and his energies to rebuilding his private fortunes. He did not lose his interest in political affairs, but took little active part. The Southern States were passing through the throes of reconstruction, and Mr. Tucker's great desire was to see Virginia once more on the way to prosperity.

In 1874 Mr. Tucker was elected by the State Legislature treasurer of Virginia. This necessitated his removing to Richmond. It was a position well fitted for a man of his qualities. Honest, upright in all his private dealings, he was so with the affairs of the public. While he was holding that office Virginia divided into two main parties, one calling itself the "Readjusters," headed by General Mahone. The origin of this party was found in a bill passed by the Legislature to provide for the payment of the State debt.

The Readjusters claimed that a part of that debt should be paid by West Virginia, as that new State had participated in the benefits derived from the loans. The other wing of the Democratic party, the one to which Mr. Hunter belonged, held that Virginia had contracted the debts, and notwithstanding a part of the territory which comprised the State at the time the loans were negotiated was now a separate State, Virginia's honor was involved, and that Virginia could not forfeit that honor.

By 1880 the Readjusters, through a combination with the Republicans, obtained control of the Legislature, and Mr. Hunter was defeated for re-election. Once more he returned to his plantation. There he remained in quiet, giving some of his time to literature, until President Cleveland, in 1885, gave him the appointment of Collector of the Port of Tappahannock. It was not an office of great importance, or of great remuneration, but it gave him some relief from his pecuniary embarrassments, as well as to occupy his mind. This office he held

until his death. The last years of his life were uneventful. He occupied his time in efforts to rebuild his fortunes, or, rather, to taking care of what was left.

One of his biographers gives this character sketch:

Naturally sanguine, and by temperament opposed to economic details, Mr. Hunter was too prone to engage in speculative enterprises, and would lavish any funds at his disposal on his mill, a favorite hobby with him.

Hospitable almost to excess, and encouraged in this by his genial and generous-hearted wife, they kept open house as long as circumstances rendered it possible, and so paramount was the duty of hospitality considered in the Fonhill household that no member of the family expressed open dissent or opposition to its freest exercise. It would be a mistake to suppose Mr. Hunter was solely devoted to political pursuits and interests to the exclusion of domestic affections.

Grave and reserved in temperament, with a soul attuned to high thoughts and aspirations, he was neither addicted nor adapted to light chat or gossiping intercourse, but his affections were strong and tenacious. . . . His nature was single and truthful, not inclined to doubt or suspicion, and his regard and friendship, once given, were not easily or lightly withdrawn.

His disposition was gentle, his judgment cool and reliable, and his power of self-control remarkable until late in life, when trouble and disease affected a temper naturally calm and equable, and rendered him more irritable.

His usual manner was quietly courteous and rarely excited, but a friend told the writer that when speaking, after the first introductory remarks, his eyes sparkled and his voice deepened in violence and compass, while the animation produced by his interest in his subject imparted charm to his whole manner and bearing.

Another writer who knew him well thus depicts his character:

There have been few men in this country whose public career extended over a longer period, or who filled so many exalted positions with such conspicuous ability.

In private life he was distinguished for his simplicity of manner, his amiability and purity of character, and for the philosophy and equanimity with which he bore the reverses of fortune, as he was in public for his fervent patriotism, his unsurpassed ability, and his fidelity to duty.

No citizen of this or any other age has left a more stainless record, or is more worthy of having the memory of his services and virtues perpetuated in enduring bronze, and his example transmitted as a rich legacy to posterity.

JOHN WHITE

JOHN WHITE—Speaker of the House of Representatives in the Twenty-seventh Congress. Born in Carter County, Tennessee, February 14, 1805. Son of Hugh and Ann (Lowrie) White. Educated at Greenville College, Tennessee. Married Miss Mary Hume. Committed suicide September 22, 1845.

Ten years in Congress, serving one term as Speaker, a man of much more than ordinary ability, as shown by his speeches in the House of Representatives, and an eminent jurist, such was John White, of Kentucky; yet there is little on record to tell of the man,

or his activities, other than what is contained in the meager pages of the old Congressional Globe. He was a member of one of the most distinguished families of Kentucky and Tennessee, a number of whom served in Congress, or in other high official positions.

One of his relatives was Hugh Lawson White, the great orator and distinguished member of the United States Senate. It was Hugh Lawson White who contested with Van Buren the nomination for President by the Democratic party in 1840. He was defeated in the convention, and ran as an independent candidate, receiving the electoral vote of Georgia and Tennessee. His capture of the electoral vote of Tennessee was a great disappointment to Andrew Jackson, who sponsored Van Buren.

Hugh White, father of the subject of this sketch, was a man of considerable wealth, being the owner of the great Goose Creek salt works, from which Tennessee and Kentucky largely drew their supplies of that condiment. Being filled with ambition, young John studied law in the office of Governor Owsley, one of the great lawyers and Governors of Kentucky. He was admitted to the bar in 1823, and rapidly gained distinction in his profession, winning a large clientele. He was endowed by nature with the qualities to make him successful at the bar. In fact, his personal magnetism was such as to win him friends, and to hold their friendship.

Within two or three years he won his way to the head of the bar in his section of Kentucky, while at the same time he made friends politically. He was an ardent friend and admirer of Henry Clay. He was a forcible speaker before a jury, and equally forcible on the hustings. This made him one of the local leaders of the Whig party, and brought him to the notice of the party leaders in other States. He was elected to the Twenty-fourth Congress, and remained a member until the close of the Twenty-eighth Congress, being Speaker in the Twenty-seventh.

During his service in the House he took a prominent part in the debates, especially those in which the tariff was the subject. He entered Congress just as the administration of General Jackson was drawing to a close, and when the fight against the United States Bank was at its height. He was a bank man by conviction, and would have been a bank man at that time had there been no other reason for such an attitude than the fact he believed the President's war on the bank was for personal reasons only.

He remained a member through the administration of Van Buren and that of Tyler, leaving that body just as Polk was to assume direction of affairs as President. He opposed Van Buren's sub-treasury plan, and the subsequent scheme to annex Texas, but finally changed his views on that subject. Until he was elected Speaker rarely a day passed that he did not join in the discussions. Of his powers as an

orator, John Quincy Adams says in his remarkable diary: "White is a man of fine talents and an able debater, but his manner is so vehement and his articulation so rapid that it becomes altogether indistinct. He repeats the word 'sir' every fifth word, and his discourse is one continued stream, without division into paragraphs or construction of sentences."

The Whigs were in the majority when the first session of the Twenty-seventh Congress convened in May, 1841, and Mr. White was chosen Speaker, following Robert M. T. Hunter, one of the great Speakers. There was turmoil almost from the beginning. Tyler, who had become President by the death of President Harrison, early broke away from the Whig party which had elected him, and for some months the Whigs in Congress were not harmonious. In addition to the trouble over the desertion of Tyler, the Whigs were not in harmony on the slavery question, which was then becoming one of the troubling issues. John Quincy Adams was still presenting his petitions on that subject, and the annexation of Texas was agitating the public mind. It was readily recognized that the annexation of that independent republic would extend the area of slavery, and the Northern members were uniting to oppose it. So far as the record discloses Mr. White made a satisfactory presiding officer. He was dignified and correct in his rulings.

He served one more term as a member of the House after leaving the Speaker's chair, and then retired to private life, intending to practice his profession in Richmond, Ky. He was appointed by the Governor Judge of the Nineteenth Judicial District, but ended his life a few months later.

JOHN WINSTON JONES

JOHN WINSTON JONES—Speaker of the House of Representatives in the Twenty-eighth Congress. Born in Amelia County, Virginia, November 22, 1791. Educated at William and Mary College. Died near Petersburg, Virginia, January 29, 1849.

Mr. Jones must have been a leading man in his section of Virginia, for he was repeatedly elected to office, and was five times sent to Congress, representing his district. He must have stood well with his colleagues, for he was elected Speaker of the House at a time when his seat was being contested. Yet little can be learned about him. He was a lawyer by profession and practiced in Chesterfield County, where he was elected Prosecuting Attorney. He was a member of the State constitutional convention in 1829. He was a Democrat in political belief, and as such was elected to the Twenty-fourth Congress, serving ten years. He declined a re-election to the Twenty-ninth Congress, and returned to his home and the practice of his profession. After leaving Congress he again served a term or two in the State Legislature.

JOHN WESLEY DAVIS

JOHN WESLEY DAVIS—Speaker of the House of Representatives in the Twenty-ninth Congress. Born in New Holland, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, April 16, 1799. Educated in Latin school in Shippensburg. Married in October, 1820, Miss Ann Hoover. Died in Carlisle, Indiana, August 22, 1859.

For nearly a third of a century John Wesley Davis was a prominent figure in the politics of Indiana, during all that time either holding some civil office, or running for some such office. He was not conspicuous for any great constructive services, nor for any pronounced failures. He was not a man of profound learning. He was a legislator without any distinctive ability, a diplomat without diplomatic skill or learning, a Governor without any particular executive ability.

Here, in brief, is a record of his official activities: Judge of the Probate Court; a member of the State Legislature, several terms, in some of them being Speaker of the House; Commissioner to treat with the Indians; member National Congress; in the State Legislature, again Speaker of the House; again in Congress for two terms, serving as Speaker in one; Commissioner to China; again in State Legislature, and again Speaker of the House; Governor of Oregon Territory; again in State Legislature; visitor to West Point Academy. He was several times a candidate either for the Legislature or for Congress and failed of an election.

Politically Mr. Davis was a Democrat of the most extreme school. On the slavery question, which was one of the absorbing issues when he was a member of the National House of Representatives, he adhered to the views of the Southern members, supporting them with his vote and influence.

As to his youth, and his earlier struggles, he left a written autobiography, from which the following extract is taken:

I was born in the village of New Holland, Lancaster county, Pennsylvania, on the 16th of April, 1799. A portion of my childhood was spent with my maternal grandfather, Jones. When I was about ten years old my father purchased a farm one mile east of Shippensburg, in Cumberland county, Pennsylvania, and settled upon it. Until I was seventeen years of age most of my time was spent upon my father's farm; however, during that period I was bound an apprentice to a clock-maker by the name of Hendel M. Carlisle, but my health failed from confinement, and I quit that business and was next sent to learn storekeeping. Being changeful in my disposition, I did not long remain at it, and my father then sent me to a Latin school in Shippensburg, where I continued about a year, and then commenced the study of medicine in Carlisle, under the direction of Dr. George D. Foulke. The winter of 1819-20 I spent in attending medical lectures at the University of Maryland, Baltimore. The intervening summer, between the winters of 1820-21, I spent in practicing medicine in the village of Concord, Franklin county, Pennsylvania. In October, 1820, I married Ann Hoover, of Shippensburg, and shortly afterward returned to Baltimore to attend a second course of lectures. . . . After graduating I attempted to practice my profession at Shippens-

burg, but becoming discouraged with my prospects, I moved, in August, 1821, to Old Town, in Allegany county, Maryland, and there practiced medicine until early in the spring of 1823, when I moved to Carlisle, Indiana, where I arrived in April of that year with just three cents in my pocket. My professional prospects were anything but flattering for the first ten weeks of my residence here, but eventually I obtained my share of the practice.

In 1828 he made his first essay into the political field as a candidate for the State Senate, but was defeated. Attending the session of the Legislature that year, he was elected sergeant-at-arms of the Senate. He was a physician by profession, but could not keep out of political life; so next year, after his defeat for the Senate, he became a candidate for election as Probate Judge of the county. That time he was successful, serving in that position for two years. It was not to his taste, as it did not give opportunity for mixing in political affairs; so he again entered the race for the Legislature and was successful. He was re-elected without opposition, and in that session was elected Speaker.

The Indians were causing some trouble and the President appointed a Commission to treat with them. Mr. Jennings, the Governor of the State; a Mr. Crume, and Dr. Davis were made members of the Commission. Mr. Davis was a nervous man, and had little respect or patience with the dignity and slowness of action of the Indians when engaged in a pow-wow, and deeply offended one of the chiefs. Of this William Wesley Woollen, in his "Biographical Sketches," tells the following story:

During the preliminary council, Dr. Davis, who was a pompous, big-feeling man, said something that gave offense to Oba-noby, one of the head chiefs of the Pottawattomies. The chief addressed Governor Jennings saying: "Does our Great Father intend to insult us by sending such men to treat with us? Why did he not send Generals Cass and Tipton? You (pointing to the Governor) good man, and know how to treat us. (Pointing to Crume.) He chipped beef for the squaws at Wabash." (Meaning that Crume was the beef contractor at the treaty of 1826.) Then pointing to Dr. Davis he said: "Big man and damn fool." The chief then spoke a few words to the Pottawattomies present, who gave one of their peculiar yells and left the council house, and could only be induced to return after several days, and then only through the great influence of Governor Jennings.

Dr. Davis' first attempt to secure a seat in the National House of Representatives was in 1833. He was defeated, but lost out by only two votes. Two years later he made another attempt, and at that time was successful. He failed in securing a re-election, but was once more successful in 1839. He was re-elected in 1841, and that time was fortunate enough to be elected Speaker of the House of Representatives. The experience he had obtained in presiding over the State House of Representatives no doubt aided him in the much more important position as Speaker of the National House. The annexation of Texas and the war with Mexico were the absorbing questions, and Speaker Davis, whenever he could, sustained the administration.

During the time when he was out of Congress, after his first election, he served in the Legislature of the State. There he had much influence, much more than he was able to exercise in Congress. In 1847 he declined to make the race for Congress, and President Polk appointed him Commissioner to China. In those days we had no Minister to that country, the Commissioner, however, acting in that capacity. He records that he was four months on his voyage and had a most disagreeable journey. Early in 1850 he asked permission to return home, which was granted. In China he accomplished little for the country.

Returning home, he was again sent to the Legislature, and again elected Speaker of the House. He did not serve long, however, as he became peeved over some action of the House and peremptorily resigned the office of Speaker. He was a delegate to the Democratic National Convention in 1852, and presided over that body. It was the convention which nominated Franklin Pierce for President.

Soon after his inauguration President Pierce appointed Mr. Davis Governor of Oregon Territory. The Doctor at first declined this office, but finally accepted, and went to the Pacific Coast. He remained there about a year, when he resigned and returned to Carlisle. Oregon at that time was having much trouble with the Indian tribes, and Governor Davis was not the man to cope with the difficult situation.

Returning to Indiana, he was once more sent to the Legislature. This was to be his last public service, for he died two years later. One writer thus speaks of him:

Dr. Davis was a solid rather than a showy man. His imagination was small, but his perceptive faculties were large. He thoroughly understood parliamentary law, and was one of the best presiding officers in the country. While his mind was not as active as that of Willard, it moved fast enough for him to readily reach his conclusions. These were seldom wrong, nor were they often questioned.

Throughout Dr. Davis's long career no one ever doubted his honesty. He kept his hands clean. With opportunities for money-making possessed by few, he contented himself with his legitimate earnings, and died a poor man.

Dr. Davis had fine social qualities. While he was at the capital, in attendance upon his public duties, it was his custom often to spend his evenings in the families of his friends. He was fond of music, was a good vocalist, and delighted in the singing of popular songs.

Dr. Davis did not rank high as a public speaker. He had none of the arts of the public orator, but nevertheless he was an entertaining talker. He was a good canvasser, could express himself intelligently and well, and if not an eloquent man, he was a sensible one. He knew how to reach the average voter, and how to get his vote.

Physically, Dr. Davis was a fine specimen of manhood. He was six feet two inches high, with a well proportioned body. . . . As a presiding officer he ranked with the best, and as a safe and prudent legislator he was the equal of any man in the State in his day.

This picture of Dr. Davis may not be overdrawn, yet in legislation he was not an originator. He accepted and sustained what his party

leaders favored. He was in all things a party man. He was an upright citizen and the people of his county never lost their confidence in him. This was evidenced by their repeatedly returning him to the Legislature. While he cannot be classed as a great man, he did deserve a place among the useful men of his time.

ROBERT CHARLES WINTHROP

ROBERT CHARLES WINTHROP—Speaker of the House of Representatives in the Thirtieth Congress. Born in Boston, Massachusetts, May 12, 1809. Son of Thomas L. and Elizabeth (Bowdoin) Winthrop. Educated at Harvard College. Married, March 12, 1832, Miss Eliza Blanchard; October 15, 1849, Mrs. Laura Welles; November 15, 1865, Mrs. Adele Thayer. Died in Boston, November 16, 1894.

As an orator entitled to take rank with Webster, Clay, and Calhoun, Robert Charles Winthrop was for many years an important figure in American political life. His place as statesman will depend upon the angle of vision. His friends during his public life regarded him as a statesman of very high order, but the careful student of history may not be willing to accept their estimate. He served six terms in the House of Representatives and a short term in the United States Senate, but never formulated any great scheme of legislation, and although for a number of years classed among the leaders of his party, he never shaped the policy of his party.

He was a Whig in his party affiliations as long as that party was in existence, but when it passed from the political arena, he united first with the Democrats, and then shifted, sometimes supporting the candidates of one party and then those of the other party, having no abiding political home.

He was a direct descendant of the great Governor John Winthrop, of Colonial days. His father was looked upon as one of the leading citizens of Boston, holding, at different times, several minor offices in the civil administration, and for a number of years was Lieutenant Governor of the State.

John Charles, the subject of this sketch, was the youngest of fourteen children born to his parents. Those of his brothers and sisters who survived to maturity all occupied prominent positions. During the early years of his life his mother was his teacher, a position she was eminently qualified to fill. Then, at different times, he attended two private schools, fitting himself to enter college. Such was his industry, and the grasp of his mind that he was ready to enter the higher institution of learning by the time he reached his fourteenth year. An older brother, however, had not reached a readiness to pass the necessary examination, and his father thought it best that the

younger son should not enter college in advance of an older brother, so Robert had to wait a year.

As to his life in college one biographer writes: "In mathematics Mr. Winthrop excelled all his classmates, who elected him their president, but, as Professor Channing told him, he 'did too many things' to be in reach of a First Part. He commanded the military company of the college, the famous but long extinct 'Harvard Washington Corps.' He presided over the select convivial reunions of the Porcellian Club and the Knights of the Square Table. He was orator of the Hasty Pudding Club, and was alike enrolled among the notorious Med. Fac. and the exemplary Phi Beta Kappa, sang bass in the Chapel choir, played a subordinate musical instrument in the concerts of the Pierian Sodality, and not infrequently stole away to town to attend some theatrical performance or social gathering. The only wonder was, with all this he managed to secure the Third Part, which he signalized by a commencement oration entitled 'Public Station.' "

In connection with this graduation address the biographer tells a very amusing story. The father of the collegian celebrated the event of his graduation by giving him a large reception at the leading tavern. Among the guests were President John Quincy Adams and other noted men of that day. Andrew Stevenson, Speaker of the National House of Representatives, had accepted an invitation to be present, but at the last moment backed out. It appears he had heard the oration of the young student and had taken exception to one remark. The orator had incidentally quoted from the Psalmist where that great poet had said that "promotion comes neither from the East, nor from the West, nor yet from the South." Mr. Stevenson was a Southerner of the reddest dye, and, believing the young man was intending to compliment President Adams, who was present, at the expense of his beloved section of the country, refused to attend the reception.

Immediately upon receiving his degree from his college, Mr. Winthrop entered the office of Daniel Webster to study law. He was not a diligent or laborious student. The biographer before quoted from draws this picture of his life at that time: "After dark and even before dark he cultivated fashionable society with some degree of assiduity, became a manager of subscription balls, wore some of the most conspicuous of the parti-colored waistcoats then in vogue, and, according to one of his sisters, devoted an unconscionable time to the art of tying voluminous cravats."

He occasionally contributed to some of the literary magazines of the day, it is said, for the munificent pay of one dollar per page. He attempted to practice law, but the most of his time was given to politics. It was during those halcyon days he took to himself a wife. For a wedding journey they visited Washington and Virginia. In Virginia

they were the guests of former President Madison. It was in the autumn of 1833 that Mr. Winthrop displayed for the first time the oratorical ability which later made him one of the famous orators of the country. It was on the occasion of welcoming Henry Clay to Boston. The short address of welcome was so felicitous in expression and in such choice language as to attract the attention of Mr. Clay, himself, perhaps, the greatest of American orators.

His interests in politics brought him very early into a place among the leaders and directors of the party campaigns. He was a Whig, following, with enthusiasm, the leadership of Henry Clay. His felicity in writing caused him to be selected to write all the addresses of the campaign committee to the voters, and all the platforms for the party conventions.

He was very active during the years 1834 and 1835 in opposing the administration of President Jackson. The struggle of the President to break down the Bank of the United States was the absorbing political issue, and Mr. Winthrop became one of the leading Whig orators of New England. Of the removal of the deposits he said in the course of one of his speeches:

There are some deposits more sacred than the public funds, deposits which money cannot pay for, which gold cannot redeem—certainly that gold which has been shorn of the badge of our liberty and the motto of our Union. Liberty and the Constitution which secures it, what are these but sacred, precious deposits, intrusted to our keeping by our fathers for our enjoyment and that of our posterity, and who that has an eye to the condition of his country can fail to see the vulture hand of Andrew Jackson hanging over and clutching at these deposits? His whole career has clearly manifested the tyrannous design to set up his arbitrary and despotic will as the sole standard of government and to make himself the master instead of the servant of the American people.

The whole printed speech, which was very long, is of a similar tenor. To him Jackson was an American Satan, bent on destroying all that was good. The closing paragraph is well worth reproducing:

I am not afraid to look defeat in the face, for there is, it cannot be denied, a gleam of sunshine on the horizon. The gorgon head of Andrew Jackson is no longer in the field against us. The smoke of that New Orleans victory will no longer blear and blind the eyes of the American people. The magic of that word Hero will no longer silence the tones of patriotic opposition. The spell is already broken, the charm dissolves apace, the bonds of that fatal destiny are scattered, the people are awaking.

In 1834 Mr. Winthrop was elected a member of the General Court of Massachusetts, where he served six years, the last three as Speaker. During that service he made a number of elaborate speeches on subjects coming before the Legislature, all displaying talents as an orator and special ability as a debator.

Mr. Winthrop was elected to the Twenty-sixth Congress to fill a vacancy. It was during the campaign for this election Mr. Winthrop

for the first time gave his views on the subject of slavery, then the great agitating matter. It was in reply to a series of questions propounded to him by some of the voters of his district. After saying that he believed that Congress had no right to interfere in the smallest degree with slavery in the States where it existed, he said: "I have no hesitation in adding that my vote could never be withheld, if I had a vote to give in Congress or elsewhere, whenever I should see a just, practicable and constitutional mode of diminishing or mitigating so great an evil as slavery."

During the first session of Congress of which he was a member, Mr. Winthrop made no formal speech. He gave his time and attention to learning the method of procedure, and a study of his fellow-members. Nor did he join in much of the social gayety at the capital, although he had a marked liking for society. In those days it was a rare thing for a member of Congress to take his family with him to Washington, the members preferring to live in boarding-houses.

By the time the next Congress opened its sessions he was ready to join in the debates, and, as John Quincy Adams said in his remarkable diary, he gave "promise as an orator and debator in the House of the highest order." It was during this session that Mr. Winthrop resigned his seat in the House in order that he might be at the bedside of his wife, who was slowly dying. "Pairs" were not then of common occurrence, and the Whig ascendancy was so limited that it was not safe for them to lose even one vote upon the important questions then before the House. To serve his party he resigned, that a Whig might be elected to the place, thus preserving the party strength. He was, however, returned to the next Congress.

At that time the "right of petition" was agitating the House. All readers of political history will readily recall the great struggle of John Quincy Adams to defend that right. In January, 1844, Mr. Winthrop delivered a most eloquent and convincing speech on that subject. The closing paragraph is worthy an insertion in a sketch even as short as this of necessity must be. He said:

Mr. Speaker, we ask for these petitions only that you treat them as you treat other petitions. We set up for them no absurd or extravagant pretensions. We claim for them no exclusive or engrossing attention. We desire only that you will adopt no prescriptive and passionate course toward them. We demand only that you will allow them to go through the same orderly round of reception, reference and report, with all other petitions. When they have gone through that round they will be just as much under your own control as they were before they entered on it. I heartily hope, sir, that this course is now about to be adopted. I hope it as an advocate of the right of petition. I hope it as a Northern man with Northern principles, if you please to term them so. But I hope it not less as an American citizen with American principles; as a friend to the Constitution and the Union; as one who is as little disposed to interfere with any rights of other States as to surrender any rights of his own State; as one who, though he may see provisions

of the Constitution which are odious in principle and unjust in practice—provisions which he would gladly have had omitted at the outset, and gladly see altered now if such alteration were practicable—is yet willing to stand by *our Constitution as it is, our Union as it is, our Territory as it is!* I honestly believe that the course of this House in relation to these petitions has done more than all other causes combined to bring the Constitution into disregard and the Union into danger. . . . And to what advantage on the part of those by whom this rule was devised? Have Southern institutions been any safer since its establishment? Have the enemies to those institutions been rendered any less ardent or less active by it? Has agitation on the subject of slavery in this Hall been repressed or allayed by it? Have these petitions and resolutions been diminished in number under its operation and influence? No, sir, the very reverse, the precise opposite of all this has been the result.

The annexation of Texas was being agitated, and it was believed that President Tyler was bent on bringing that annexation about. Mr. Winthrop offered in the House a resolution declaring that no proposition for the annexation of Texas to the United States ought to be made or assented to by this Government. As was to be expected, the resolution was voted down, as it had already been determined by the leaders of the party then in power to annex Texas, even should war with Mexico follow. He delivered another elaborate speech during that session, in which he severely condemned the attitude of the administration on the Oregon question. In 1845 he made another long speech on the annexation of Texas, in which he said:

I am against annexation now and always, because I believe it to be clearly unconstitutional in substance; because I believe it will break up the balance of our system, violate the Compromise of the Constitution, and endanger the permanence of our Union; and, above all, I am uncompromisingly opposed to the extension of domestic slavery, or to the addition of another inch of slaveholding territory to the nation.

On another occasion he addressed the House in a lengthy speech on the Oregon question. In 1844 Mr. Polk had been elected President under the slogan of "Fifty-four Forty, or Fight." "Twisting the Lion's Tail" had been a favorite diversion with the campaign orators, and as Great Britain had never been known to give up without a fight an inch of territory she claimed, war with that country was a favorite theme with one class of our people. After Mr. Polk had become settled in the White House there began to be some talk of negotiations and a settlement of the Oregon question by arbitration. This talk had acquired momentum even before the inauguration of Mr. Polk, but some of the radicals in Congress had declared there should be no more negotiations; that Oregon, all of it, belonged to the United States, and that not an inch of it should be surrendered. This sentiment found expression in the famous toast of Senator Hannegan, of Indiana, at a dinner in Philadelphia: "Oregon—Every foot or not an inch; Fifty-four Deg., Forty Min., or delenda est Britannia." In February, 1845,

only a few days before the administration of President Tyler was to end and that of President Polk begin, Mr. Winthrop made a powerful speech on the Oregon question. Among other things he said:

No more negotiations! Why, Mr. Chairman, where is such a doctrine as this to lead us? Inevitably to war. To war with England now, to war with all the world hereafter, or certainly with all parts of the world with which we may have controversies of any sort, and even war can never put an end to the necessity of negotiation. Unless war is to be perpetual, you must come back to negotiation in the end. The only question in the case before us—the only question in the case of disputed international rights—is not whether you will negotiate or fight, but whether you will negotiate only, or negotiate and fight both. Battles will never settle boundaries between Great Britain and the United States, in Oregon or elsewhere. The capture of ships, the destruction of commerce, the burning and plundering of cities will leave us just where we began. First or last, negotiation alone can settle this question. For one, then, I am for negotiation first, before war and without war.

This, perhaps, is as good a place as any to call to remembrance a toast offered by Mr. Winthrop, given at a Fourth of July meeting: "Our COUNTRY—whether bounded by the St. Johns and the Sabine, or however otherwise bounded or described, and be the measurements more or less—still our country, to be cherished in all our hearts, to be defended by all our hands!" On the question of establishing civil government in Oregon, Mr. Winthrop offered a resolution declaring that involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, should not exist therein. The resolution was adopted as an amendment to the pending bill.

In a series of pen sketches of the members of the Twenty-eighth Congress, written by a noted Pennsylvania writer, is the following description of the oratorical powers of Mr. Winthrop:

Robert C. Winthrop is, by common consent, one of the ablest men in the House, and in a Whig Congress would not improbably be Speaker. Candid, honorable, and high-minded, he is above the tricks of intrigue, and every progressive step of his public life has been marked by increased evidences of intellectual power. As a speaker, he is clear, concise, and occasionally very eloquent. He speaks but rarely, but is always listened to with attention. He has an exceptionally fine voice, an impassioned manner, and a warm and brilliant imagination, which frequently lights up his speeches with gleams of bold and brilliant fancy. He is tall in stature, with the face of a scholar and serious thinker. With those who know him well, on both sides of the House, he is a great favorite, but the criticism has been made that he is a little too refined and dignified for some of his surroundings. A man of rougher temperament, even if less intellectual, is often better suited for a party captain.

On the tariff question he favored, in a modified degree, Mr. Clay's American System, and when the tariff question was before the House usually made a strong presentation of the right and righteousness of the protective theory in fixing customs duties. Mr. Winthrop had enemies—political—in his own State, and even in his own party.

Among those might be mentioned Charles Sumner. He at one time contemplated retiring from the House, but the attacks made upon him caused him to abandon that idea and to again stand for nomination by his party. His own party was split and a third candidate appeared, but Mr. Winthrop triumphed over all opposition. In the next session of the House he delivered what might be called a very carefully prepared speech on the war with Mexico. He defended, with warmth, his attitude toward the annexation of Texas and toward the war. He held that the war was unwarranted, that all the questions involved could have been settled by negotiation without an appeal to war. The country having become involved in the war, he consistently voted all the supplies of men and money the administration asked for.

At the adjournment of the Twenty-ninth Congress, Mr. Winthrop indulged himself with a trip to Europe. He had long contemplated this trip. During his visit to France and England he met many of the celebrities of those countries. He made the most of his opportunities and studied the political, economical, and social conditions over the ocean, returning with his own views of the future of the United States strengthened and enlarged. He was returned as a member of the House in the Thirtieth Congress.

When the Thirtieth Congress met, Mr. Winthrop was made the caucus nominee of the Whigs for Speaker. The Whigs had, nominally, a small majority, but their strength was frequently frittered away by factions. Among the Massachusetts members was John G. Palfrey. He was not satisfied altogether with Mr. Winthrop's nomination by the caucus, and addressed to him a letter, asking him as to how he would constitute certain committees. In his letter he intimated that there were other members besides himself who would be influenced by the reply of Mr. Winthrop. The reply of Mr. Winthrop was short, but to the point. He not only refused to make any pledges, but stated that if he was to occupy the Speaker's chair, he must do so without pledges of any sort. On the first ballot Mr. Winthrop fell three short of the number necessary to elect. Six of the Whigs did not vote for him. Three of these were from the North and three from the South. On the second ballot one of the six fell into line, and another did not vote at all. This left Mr. Winthrop only one short. As the clerk began to call the roll for the third ballot, one of the Democratic members left the Hall, and that gave the election to Mr. Winthrop.

The objection the Southern Whigs had to Mr. Winthrop was that he had voted for the famous Wilmot Proviso. Evidently he found the Speaker's chair a source of trouble and vexation. In a letter written to a friend he thus tells of his woes:

Nobody can exaggerate the labor and anxiety to which I have been subjected. If I had been invested with the entire patronage of the presidency, I could not have been teased and solicited more incessantly. Boys who want to be pages,

women who want to sell apples, men who want to be clerks have surrounded me at every turn. Orphans and widows have clustered around me like bees, and where they could extract no honey they have left a sting. But the assignments of committees has been the hardest work I ever did in my life. In order to get through with it in season, I more than once locked myself into my study with a confidential clerk from noon till midnight, and now that I have fairly thrown off the mountain, I have the discomfort of knowing that I have dissatisfied not a few of my friends and probably all my enemies. Indeed, there is no such thing as fully satisfying one's self in the solution of such a problem. Aside from the difficulty of reconciling geographical claims, there have been personal embarrassments. One of them was what to do with J. Q. Adams. Of late years he has declined to serve on committees; but this year, perhaps because his own party is again in power, he has signified no such purpose. The only place adequate to his dignity and experience was the Chairmanship of Foreign Affairs, but his views are so peculiar that, in the existing condition of the country, I was afraid to risk it.

His committee assignments did not give satisfaction to his own party friends. The feeling against slavery was growing, and he was accused of being too mild in his opposition. Giddings, of Ohio, and Adams and Sumner, of his own State, caused him endless trouble. Practically he was accused by them of being false to Northern principles. It was while Mr. Winthrop was Speaker that John Quincy Adams fell on the floor of the House, dying shortly afterward. Speaker Winthrop, in an impressive manner, made official announcement of this sad event. He paid this tribute to the worth and services of the Old Man Eloquent:

Whatever advanced age, long experience, great ability, vast learning, accumulated public honors, a spotless private character, and firm religious faith could do to render any object of interest, respect, and admiration they had done for this distinguished person; and interest, respect, and admiration are but feeble terms to express the feelings with which the members of this House and the people of this country have long regarded him.

As the time approached in 1848 for the selection of candidates for the presidency, political waters were stirred to their depths. Clay, Webster, and some others were talked about as the probable candidate of the Whigs. The war with Mexico had proved to be more popular with the people than had been anticipated, and on the surface affairs looked very promising for the Democrats. Mr. Winthrop was one of those Whigs who were looking around for a more available candidate than either Clay or Webster promised to be. His choice was General Scott.

His own name was frequently mentioned for the second place on the ticket, with either Scott or Taylor at the head. But he believed that the ticket would be much stronger if Mr. Webster should be given the second place. He urged that upon Mr. Webster himself. It was not to be—Mr. Webster held for the first place or nothing.

At this time Mr. Winthrop desired to retire from public life. He had been a member of the House for a number of years, and had en-

joyed its highest honor—the Speakership—and he felt disposed to take life more easily. Reluctantly, however, he yielded to the wishes of his friends, and was again a candidate and again elected. When the Thirty-first Congress met, Mr. Winthrop was again the caucus nominee of the Whigs for Speaker. It took nearly three weeks to make a selection by the House, more than sixty ballots being taken. Both parties were split by factions. Howell Cobb was the regular Democratic nominee, but could not command all the Democratic votes in the House. Nor could Mr. Winthrop corral all the Whigs. Adding to the confusion the Free Soilers had nine votes. Day after day the voting went on, the Democrats frequently changing their candidate. At one time they brought out William J. Brown, a member from Indiana, and on one ballot he reached within two of the number needed to elect. Just then some one sprung on the House a letter it was alleged Brown had written promising the Free Soilers, in exchange for their votes, appointment of committees satisfactory to them.

At last a resolution was adopted that the roll should be twice called, and if no election resulted, a third call should be made, and the person having the highest number of votes should be declared the Speaker. This gave the coveted place to Mr. Cobb, of Georgia, he receiving 102 votes to 99 for Mr. Winthrop, the Free Soilers and independent Whigs and Democrats scattering their votes. Mr. Winthrop was opposed to slavery, and to the extension of slave territory, but was not so radical as some of the others. He was not an abolitionist in any sense of that word. It was because of his lack of radicalism the Free Soilers refused to vote for him. Some of the Southern Whigs refused to vote for him because he voted for the Wilmot Proviso.

Mr. Cobb was a strong pro-slavery man, but was not so bitter against those who differed with him as the “fire-eaters” desired, hence he was only lukewarmly supported by some of the Southern members. Later in the session Mr. Winthrop made a lengthy speech, which he called a “Personal Vindication.” Two of his assailants were Andrew Johnson, of Tennessee, and Joshua Giddings, of Ohio. Of them he said:

The honorable member from Tennessee (Mr. Andrew Johnson) coming next to the onslaught, and doing me the favor to rehearse before my face a speech which he had delivered behind my back at the last session, arraigned me in the most ferocious terms as having prostituted the prerogatives of the chair to sectional purposes, and as having framed all my committees in a manner and with a view to do injustice to the South. The honorable member from Ohio (Mr. Giddings), following him, after a due delay, denounced me with equal violence as having packed the most important of those committees for the purpose of betraying the North. The one proclaimed me to be the very author and originator of the Wilmot Proviso. The other reproached me as being a downright, or, at least, a disguised enemy to the Proviso. The one exclaimed, as the very climax of his condemnation: “I would sooner vote for Joshua R. Giddings himself than for Robert C.

Winthrop." The other responded with an equally indignant emphasis: "I would sooner vote for Howell Cobb than for Robert C. Winthrop—he cannot be worse; he may do better."

The above is given to show that having been Speaker of the House did not prevent assaults on his character, both as a fair and just presiding officer, and as an honorable man. Those assaults have occasionally been repeated in the House on other distinguished gentlemen. They were by no means confined to the earlier days of the republic. Farther along in his "Personal Vindication" he said:

Sir, I have done with these personalities. They have not been of my seeking. They are unnatural and revolting to my disposition. I am entirely new to this style of debate. During a ten years' occupancy of a seat in this House I have never before had occasion to resort to it. But I could no longer submit in silence to such gross and groundless assertions. Gentlemen may vote against me whenever they please. There is no office in the gift of the House, of the people, or of the President which I covet, or for which I would quarrel with anyone for not giving me his support. But no man shall slander me with impunity. No man shall pervert and misrepresent my words and acts, and falsify the record of my public career without exposure. That career has been one of humble pretensions, and presents no claim to distinguished service of any sort. But such as it is, I am willing that it should be investigated. Examine the record. . . . You will find that while I have been true to my constituents, I have been true, also, to the Constitution and the Union. This, at least, I know, sir—my conscience this day bearing me witness—that I have been true to myself, to my own honest judgment, to my own clear convictions of right, of duty, and of patriotism.

This speech was circulated in pamphlet form, and added to his friends and admirers in Massachusetts and throughout the North. Of this speech, one writer, who listened to it, said: "It was a speech of uncommon merit, commanding the close attention of the House. . . . He declaimed with great animation in a highly finished style of elocution. His remarks were wire-woven. No broken threads or raveled edges marred any portion." At another time he took occasion to explain his course with reference to the restriction of slavery in the territories, and in referring to the talk of compromise, he said:

Gentlemen talk of settling the whole controversy which has been kindled between the North and the South by some sweeping compromise, or some comprehensive plan of reconciliation. I trust that the controversy will be settled, sir, but I most earnestly hope and pray that it will not so be settled that we shall ever again imagine that we can enter with impunity upon a career of aggression, spoliation, and conquest. This embittered strife, this protracted suspense, these tedious days and weeks and months of anxiety and agitation will have had their full compensation and reward if they shall teach us never again to forget the curse which has been pronounced upon those "who remove their neighbor's landmarks"—if they shall teach us to realize, in all time to come, that a policy of peace and of justice toward others is the very law and condition of our own domestic harmony.

A few days after the delivery of this speech President Taylor died and Mr. Winthrop, with others, paid a tribute to his memory, an elo-

quent, yet just, tribute to the patriotism, the honesty of character and worth of the hero of Buena Vista. Among other things he said: "I hazard nothing, sir, in saying that the roll of our Chief Magistrates since 1789, illustrious as it is, presents the name of no man who has enjoyed a higher reputation with his cotemporaries, or who will enjoy a higher reputation with posterity than Zachary Taylor, for some of the best and noblest qualities which adorn our nature. His indomitable courage, his unimpeachable honesty, his Spartan simplicity and sagacity; his frankness, kindness, moderation, and magnanimity; his fidelity to his friends; his generosity and humanity to his enemies, the purity of his private life, the patriotism of his public principles, will never cease to be cherished in the grateful remembrance of all just men and all true-hearted Americans."

Mr. Webster was made Secretary of State in the Cabinet of President Fillmore, who succeeded President Taylor. The vacancy thus caused in the Senate was immediately filled by the appointment of Mr. Winthrop. His service in the Senate lasted only a few months, as he was defeated for the full term by Charles Sumner. He was also defeated the same year as the Whig candidate for Governor of the State. When he entered the Senate the Compromise of 1850 was under heated discussion. He made several short speeches on the subject. The fugitive slave law was also under discussion, which he opposed. Mr. Winthrop did not take a very active part in the presidential campaign of 1852. The Massachusetts Whigs had been disappointed at the defeat of Webster for the nomination, and many of them threatened to bolt the ticket. Mr. Winthrop did what he could to rally the party to the support of the ticket.

With the campaign of 1852 the Whig party practically passed out of existence. A new party, the Republican, was born. Its two principle theories of government were: a protective tariff, and untiring opposition to the further extension of slave territory. A decision by the United States Supreme Court, and the attitude of the administration of President Pierce toward Kansas had alarmed the North and wrought up that section into an almost fever heat on the slavery question. Mr. Winthrop had a hard time to determine what course he would take. In a private letter to one of his friends he thus expressed his dilemma:

I cannot go Buchanan and his platform. Personally I could look with complacency upon the election of Fremont and Dayton, the latter, you may remember, is one of my best friends, but whether I can see my way clear to giving aid and comfort to the Republican party and taking my share of the responsibilities of the results, is another matter. The resolutions of the Whigs of Maryland come nearer my way of thinking than anything I have met with lately, bating, of course, some phrases.

In 1857 he wrote to another friend:

I am disposed to vote for that one of the other candidates who stands the best chance of defeating the Republican ticket. The friends with whom I have heretofore acted seem to entertain the fullest confidence that Governor Gardner is that man; and unless I see some stronger reason for distrusting their judgment than I do now, I shall give him a vote this year for the first time. If I cannot approve every act of his administration thus far, I think it is at least safer "to bear the ills we have than fly to others that we know not of."

Gardner was the Democratic candidate for Governor of Massachusetts. In 1858 he had definitely decided to cast in his lot with the Democrats and to support the congressional ticket of that party. Later he said he did not vote the whole Democratic ticket. At this time he made another visit to Europe, spending about a year and a half in visiting and studying the countries over there. In 1860 he decided to support the ticket headed by John Bell, of Tennessee, for President.

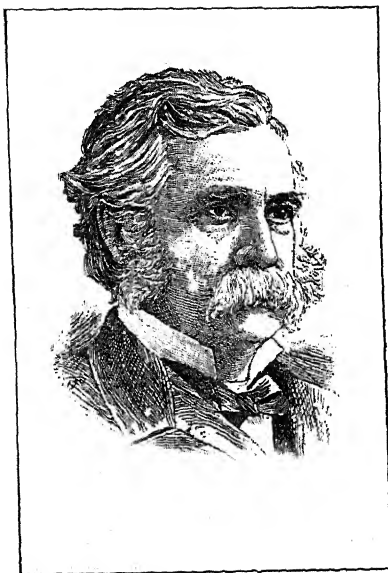
Mr. Lincoln was elected, and on his journey to Washington was expected to pass through Troy, New York, where a reception was to be given to him. Mr. Winthrop was invited to attend and to speak. This invitation he declined. In his letter declining the invitation is the following sentence, in speaking of Mr. Lincoln: "Let him not fail to be assured that from us who have voted against him, as from those who voted for him, he may confidently rely on a generous sympathy and support in every just and reasonable measure which he may adopt to maintain the Constitution of the country."

Although not endorsing the secession of the Southern States, Mr. Winthrop was a believer in the doctrine that the people of that section were entitled to achieve their independence. He also held with equal strength that it was the duty of the President to vindicate the authority of the government, and that it was the duty of the Northern people to support him.

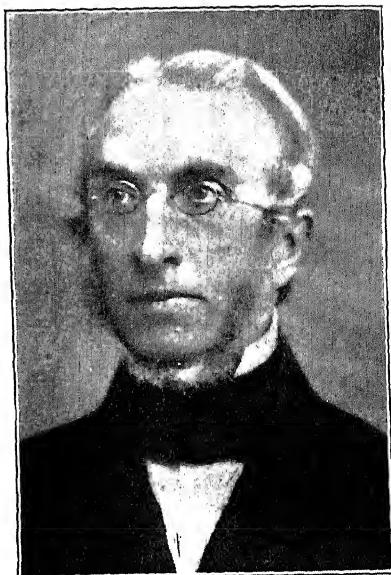
In 1864 he supported McClellan for the Presidency, rather than Mr. Lincoln. He stood by President Johnson in his controversy with Congress over the reconstruction of the South. In 1868 he supported Seymour as against Grant, but in 1872 he gave his support and vote for Grant as against Greeley.

During these years when out of public office Mr. Winthrop was frequently called upon to address some organization, or some public meeting of the citizens. He was an industrious letter-writer, and his correspondence would fill several volumes. He took no active part in the campaign of 1876, except to declare his intention to cast his vote for Mr. Tilden.

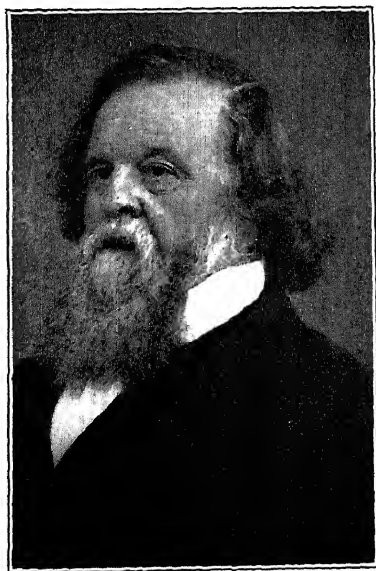
Notwithstanding he was not in active public life, he was still regarded as one of the greatest orators of the country. In 1880 both Houses of Congress joined in a request that he become the orator on the occasion of celebrating the one hundredth anniversary of the sur-



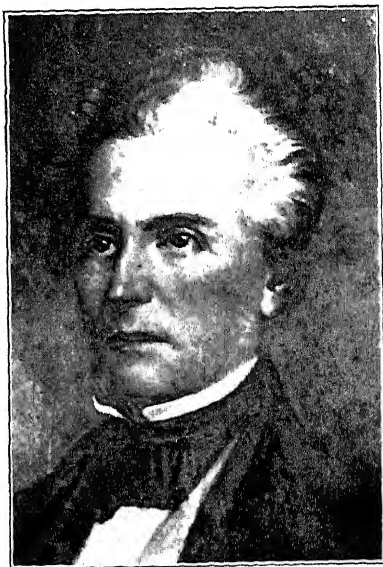
JOHN W. DAVIS, Indiana
Twenty-ninth Congress



ROBERT C. WINTHROP
Massachusetts
Thirtieth Congress



HOWELL COBB, Georgia
Thirty-first Congress



LINN BOYD, Kentucky
Thirty-second and Thirty-third
Congresses

render of Cornwallis. He accepted, and his address on that occasion is regarded as one of his greatest efforts. Let this extract suffice:

Let me not exaggerate our dangers, or dash the full joy of this anniversary by suggesting too strongly that there may be poison in our cup. But I must be pardoned, as one of a past generation, for dealing with old-fashioned counsels in old-fashioned phrases. Profound dissertations on the nature of governments, metaphysical speculations on the true theory of civil liberty, scientific dissections of the machinery of our own political system—even were we capable of them—would be as inappropriate as they would be worthless. Our reliance for the preservation of Republican liberty can only be on the common-place principles, and common-place maxims, which lie within the comprehension of the children of our schools, or of the simplest and least cultured man or woman who wields a hammer or who plies a needle. The fear of the Lord must still and ever be the beginning of wisdom, and obedience to His Commandments the rule of our lives. . . . The rights of the humblest, as well as of the highest, must be respected and enforced. Labor, in all its departments, must be justly remunerated and elevated, and the true dignity of labor recognized. . . . The great duties of individual citizenship must be conscientiously discharged. Peace, order, and the good old virtues of honesty, charity, temperance, and industry must be cultivated and revered. Public opinion must be refined, purified, strengthened, and rendered prevailing and imperative by the best thoughts and best words which the press, the platform, and the pulpit can pour forth. . . .

No advanced thought, no mystical philosophy, no glittering abstractions, no swelling phrases about freedom—not even science, with all its marvellous inventions and discoveries—can help us much in sustaining the Republic. Still less can any godless theories of creation or any infidel attempts to rule out the Redeemer from His rightful supremacy in our hearts afford us any hope of security. That way lies despair. Common-place truths, old familiar teachings, the Ten Commandments, the Sermon on the Mount, the Farewell Address of Washington, honesty, virtue, patriotism, universal education are what the world most needs in these days, and our own part of the world as much as any other part. Without these we are lost.

In 1884 Mr. Winthrop had a very severe spell of sickness, from which he never fully recovered. He had just been invited by the two Houses of Congress to deliver the oration on the completion of the Washington Monument. Thirty-six years before he had been the orator on the occasion of laying the cornerstone of the monument, and now, although far advanced in years, he was to be the orator on its final completion and dedication. This dedication was to take place on the 22nd of February, 1885. He prepared the oration, but was so feeble in health that he could not go to Washington to deliver it. He sent it to a friend, John D. Long, afterward Secretary of the Navy, to read. These two orations, one on the laying of the cornerstone and the other at the completion of the structure have been regarded as his two greatest oratorical efforts.

Mr. Winthrop was a great admirer of Mr. Cleveland, and although he did not fail to recognize the mental qualities of Benjamin Harrison, he very much regretted his success over Mr. Cleveland in 1888. He had not taken a very active part in the campaign of that year, but his

influence was given in support of the New York statesman. He had outlived the most of his friends; all, or nearly all of those who had served with him in Congress had passed over the Great Divide, and he felt that his time must shortly come to join them. His private correspondence at that time discloses that his memory often went back to the days of his former triumphs, and to the friends who had labored with him in the cause of liberty. He died as he had lived, a Christian gentleman. He died full of earthly honors, and of years. The published addresses and speeches of Mr. Winthrop fill four volumes. They are a storehouse of political history. He had vast learning, a personal knowledge of what was occurring, and an acquaintance with the motives which inspired others who were prominent in national affairs. He had been an actor in many of the most important affairs of the government for more than half a century.

As a Speaker of the House Mr. Winthrop was a worthy successor to Henry Clay, his great predecessor. He was dignified, courteous, and at all times affable. His decisions on disputed parliamentary questions have always been regarded as precedents, and have, in the main, been followed by his successors. He was a master of parliamentary law. He was firm, but never dogmatic. He had a stormy time of it, as he served just as the bitterness engendered over the slavery question was reaching its climax. He may have had ambitions to some time sit in the seat of Washington and Jefferson. If so, he died a disappointed man, for at no time in his public life did his party even talk of elevating him to that place. He will be remembered as an orator of surpassing brilliancy, and not for any great act of statesmanship.

HOWELL COBB

HOWELL COBB—Speaker of the House of Representatives in the Thirty-first Congress. Born in Cherry Hill, Georgia, September 7, 1816. Son of Col. John A. and Sarah R. (Rootes) Cobb. Educated at Franklin College. Married in 1835, Miss Mary Ann Lamar. Died in New York, October 9, 1868.

Howell Cobb easily takes rank among the great men of Georgia. His father was distinguished in politics, although never an office-seeker or an office-holder. He was a man of wealth, and in order to give his children an opportunity to secure the education he desired for them he removed, when Howell was but a small boy, to Athens. The Academy and University there offered superior opportunities, and the lad Howell eagerly took advantage of them.

It has been said of him by his biographers that he was not a hard student, but possessing a fine mind he learned rapidly, leaving the years to come to store his mind with the learning for which he was

noted in his public career. In his student days he displayed at all times a consideration for others, and his generous and kindly spirit soon earned him friendships that ended only in death. He gave no display of unusual talents in any direction, and no one prophesied for him the distinction he afterward earned.

After graduating from college with high honors he began the study of law. Such was his assiduity at that time that after a study of but two years he was admitted to practice. He must have impressed himself very quickly on the people, for in 1837, after only two years at the bar, the Legislature elected him Solicitor General for the Western Circuit of the State. This was a prominent position, giving him charge of all cases wherein the State was interested, either criminal or civil. He filled this office to the satisfaction of the people, and while doing so added to his popularity. He took rank among the ablest attorneys of the State.

In 1842 he was elected to the Twenty-eighth Congress and was re-elected to the Twenty-ninth, Thirtieth and Thirty-first Congresses, being Speaker of the Thirty-first. He was a Democrat of the Jackson school. He ardently believed in the doctrine of States' Rights, but also believed in the Union, looking to the Union as the best protector of the rights of the States. Before his election to Congress he had established a State-wide reputation as a platform orator. He possessed a large share of that fiery, impetuous eloquence so common in the South. In the House of Representatives he quickly took a leading place on the Democratic side. It was at the time when President Tyler was breaking away from the Whigs, the party that had elected him to the Vice-Presidency. Mr. Cobb during the campaign of 1840 had taken an active part in support of Van Buren, especially in his contest with Congress over the establishment of the Sub-Treasury System. He became influential with President Tyler, and was an advocate of the annexation of Texas, then one of the issues before the House.

He believed in slavery as an institution, and that it was vital to the prosperity of the South, hence was warm in his support of the movement for extending the area of that institution by annexing the great territory embraced in Texas. He was also an admirer of John C. Calhoun, Tyler's Secretary of State, but did not accept his scheme of nullification. It was Calhoun who drove through Congress the resolution of annexation, and one of his principal backers was the young member from Georgia.

Texas annexed, war came as a result. Polk was President and Mr. Cobb became one of his closest advisers. A number of times during the war the Whigs in both the Senate and the House frequently bitterly attacked the administration. Mr. Cobb was one of its strongest defenders. The Democratic slogan during the campaign of 1844 had been "Fifty-four Forty, or Fight." This had reference to the bound-

ary of Oregon. Elected on that implied pledge, President Polk sought a compromise with Great Britain, departing largely from the claims of the United States. This aroused bitter antagonism in the ranks of the Democrats, some of them denouncing the President in the most bitter language. On this question, as on that of the annexation of Texas, Mr. Cobb stood by the President.

The session of the Thirty-first Congress was a noted session. It opened on December 3, 1849, and continued until September 30, 1850. Its very opening was somewhat dramatic. The Democrats had a majority in the House, but were divided by factions. Mr. Cobb was the party nominee for Speaker, but several of the Democrats refused to vote for him. These belonged to that wing of the party called "Free-soil Democrats."

Robert C. Winthrop was the Whig candidate, but he had trouble in his party also. The balloting for Speaker continued for several weeks, more than sixty ballots being taken. Finally a resolution was adopted by a majority vote providing that three more roll calls should be had, and if no candidate had received a majority of all the votes, then the roll should be called once more, and the candidate receiving the highest number should be Speaker. Under that resolution Mr. Cobb was elected, receiving one hundred and two votes against ninety-nine for Mr. Winthrop.

The regularity of his election was questioned by his opponents, they setting up the claim that the rules of the House made a majority necessary to the election of a Speaker. Mr. Cobb held that a majority having voted for the resolution, his selection required no further action by the House. A number of years later when a similar contest over the choice of a Speaker occurred, and was settled in the same way, and its legality called in question Mr. Cobb said:

Allusion has been made to what occurred here at the time that I was elected Speaker of this House; and as I differ with some of my friends with reference to their construction of what was done then, and what is necessary to be done now, and as I may be called upon to vote upon some resolution concerned with this matter, I desire to place myself right before the House, and to give the reasons for the vote which I shall give. In 1849, when it was determined to adopt the plurality rule, it was assailed as violative of the Constitution. In order to avoid any difficulty upon that subject it was, by general consent among those who were in favor of it, agreed that a resolution should be offered affirming the election, and that was done. At the time, occupying the position that I did, I was asked the question, "Whether, in my opinion, it was necessary that this should be done?" I gave the same opinion then that I entertain now, and that I have repeatedly given when asked the question during this convass; and I feel it due to candor now to state it. I hold that it is necessary for a majority to elect a Speaker; but I hold, at the same time, that a majority of this House adopting the plurality rule, where a plurality vote is cast for any member, he is elected by virtue of the resolution originally adopted by a majority of the House.

When, sir, it was thought there was a probability that the gentleman for whom I voted would be elected, I gave that opinion then. I also gave it to those on the

other side of the House who thought proper to ask my opinion upon the subject. I entertain no doubt in reference to it. Therefore, I cannot agree with either of my friends from Kentucky that it is incumbent upon those who voted for the plurality rule to perfect the election of Mr. Banks by a resolution. I think Mr. Banks has already been elected.

While Mr. Cobb was Speaker the most intense excitement prevailed not only in Congress, but throughout the country over the admission of California. Of course slavery was the exciting cause of the agitation. Speaker Cobb firmly believed that the compromise, if accepted, would insure peace in the country, and prevent a dissolution of the Union, and he gave it his warmest support. He did not take a prominent part in the debate on the compromise, but he used all his influence in its favor. It was largely due to the influence thus exerted that the compromise was finally agreed to by the House.

His action on the compromise made him many enemies in the South, and he was denounced in the strongest terms, even by his own party friends. It did not swerve him a bit. He loved peace; he wanted peace; he wanted the slavery question put out of the way, and he believed all this would be accomplished if the compromise were accepted in good faith, and lived up to. He was a partisan of the severest school, and a Southerner in every thought, yet he was broad enough to take the whole country in view, and to realize that peace was necessary to the continued prosperity of the country.

At the close of the Thirty-first Congress Mr. Cobb retired from the House. Returning to Georgia he found that he would have to defend himself before the people. He had been assailed in the most bitter terms, and if he was to retain his hold on the people he must meet and repel the attacks. This he did in a most successful manner. At that time there was no man in Georgia who could successfully meet him on the platform.

His party was divided into two factions, one known as the "Southern Rights," and the other as the "Union" party. A Governor was to be elected and Mr. Cobb was nominated by the Union wing of the party. The canvass which followed was one of more than usual bitterness and excitement. Mr. Cobb traveled to every part of the State, making speeches in every county. So earnest was he, so eloquently did he defend the compromise and his action in connection with it, that he was elected by the largest majority ever given in that State. His administration as Governor was successful, and of great benefit to the State. At the end of his term in 1852 he returned to his home in Athens, and again began the practice of his profession.

In 1852 he supported Mr. Pierce for the Presidency, but did not take any very active part. The attempt to repeal the Missouri Compromise was then formulating, and the country was again in that heat of excitement over the slavery question. The Democratic party in Georgia

was once more united, and, in fact, was a unit on the burning question of slavery. In 1855 he was once more sent to the House by his old district. His party in the House was in a hopeless minority as to slavery. It was the Congress in which Nathaniel P. Banks was elected Speaker. While he spoke several times, Mr. Cobb did not join in any of the violent demonstrations which enlivened the sessions of the House.

In 1856 he visited several of the Northern States, making speeches in the interest of Mr. Buchanan in his candidacy for President. It was then he formed the intimacy with Mr. Buchanan which ripened later into an offer of a seat in the Cabinet. Before his inauguration Mr. Buchanan tendered to Mr. Cobb the portfolio of State, but this was declined. He was then offered the Secretaryship of the Treasury which he accepted.

Mr. Cobb's friends claimed that he was, in fact, the real leader of the Cabinet, and that the President depended upon him in every emergency, frequently consulting him on matters of foreign policy. The repeal of the Missouri Compromise had worked disaster, politically, throughout the country. It opened once more the agitation of the slavery question, and involved all parties, and all sections of the country. Kansas was knocking at the door of the Union, and a most determined effort was being made to bring Kansas into the Union as a slave State. The Republican party was daily growing stronger in the North, and before Mr. Buchanan's term reached its end disunion was in the air. The Cabinet was divided, and only a few weeks before he was to relinquish his office the President was forced to reorganize the Cabinet. Secretary of State Cass gave way to Jere. Black, and Mr. Cobb to John A. Dix.

Mr. Cobb had not been one of the original secessionists, but now threw himself heart and soul for a dissolution of the Union. He returned to Georgia when he gave up his Cabinet seat and at once took the lead in securing the secession of the State. It has always been doubted that Georgia would have joined South Carolina in leaving the Union had not Mr. Cobb led in the movement. Had he taken the side of the Union the Empire State of the South, so it has been frequently declared, would have stood by the old flag. He made speeches for secession in nearly every county of the State, and although he was not a member of the convention which declared Georgia free from its connection with the Union, his influence dominated that body.

When the war actually came Mr. Cobb recruited a regiment for the Southern cause, and led it to the front. He was engaged in most of the battles on the Peninsula when General McClellan undertook to capture Richmond. He followed Lee in his invasion of Maryland, and took part in the battle of Antietam, or Sharpsburg, as it is called in the South. By that time he was a Brigadier General in command of a bri-

gade. He was later made a Major General and remained with the army until the end came at Appomattox.

After the surrender General Cobb returned to his home in Athens. There he was arrested by the Federal authorities on an order from Washington. There was no ground for this arrest, as he was protected by the terms of surrender. He was ordered taken to Washington, but when the officer in charge of him reached Nashville he was ordered to release Mr. Cobb and permit him to go wherever it pleased him. He returned once more to Athens.

Mr. Cobb had not confined himself wholly to political affairs after he entered public life. He was ever a warm and earnest friend of the cause of education. He was for several years a Trustee of the University of Georgia, and took an active interest in everything concerning that institution.

The war had left him somewhat straitened in financial circumstances. He had lost much by the war. It has been said that when the war began he was the owner of more than a thousand slaves, and of several large plantations. The emancipation of the slaves left him with large landed interests, but little means to make those interests profitable. As a lawyer he commanded a wide practice, but poverty was the lot of the South just then, and there was not a great financial return from his practice. He had always been a liberal giver to all calls of charity, and he felt the deprivation of still giving more than he did the actual loss of his great wealth. He was not long to survive the cause to which he had given of his strength and vitality. The end came suddenly, came without warning, and came when he was away from home. In the fall of 1868 he had occasion to visit New York. He visited several points in that State, all the time apparently in the best of health. He was in the city of New York making arrangements to return to Georgia. His death is thus related by one who was with him. "He was standing on the parlor floor of the Fifth Avenue hotel, conversing with the Right Rev. Bishop Beckwith, in relation to a sermon preached by the latter. As we were about parting at the head of the stairs on the parlor floor, Mrs. Cobb and Miss Mary Cobb made their appearance, descending. The General asked the Bishop to remain and be introduced. He did so, and Mrs. Cobb and the Bishop immediately commenced conversation upon the same subject. The General quickly threw his hands to his head, walked around and took his seat upon the stairs, and within a very few minutes expired without saying a word." The announcement of his death created a great shock among the people of Georgia, for it was agreed by all that no man was so well loved as was Howell Cobb.

Something of the estimate in which he was held by the people of Georgia, and especially by his immediate neighbors, can be gathered

from the expressions given by leading men. Of him Rev. Dr. William Brandy, of Atlanta, who knew him well, said:

An illustrious man has fallen. Whether we consider his intellectual endowments, the commanding force of his oratory, the extensive influence he wielded, the high positions he so long and so ably filled both in the State and the National Councils, or his ardent and disinterested patriotism, it must be conceded by all parties, that he was one of the most distinguished men Georgia has ever produced. Self-possessed, discriminating, prompt and impartial, he was, as a presiding officer, fully the peer of the ablest man who ever preceded or followed him in the Speaker's Chair of the National House of Representatives.

Hon. Julius Hillyer, who was long his partner in the practice of law, said:

In his political life, General Cobb arose far above the position of a mere party leader. His statesmanship reached a high nationality, and embraced within its compass all the interests of his country. Throughout the whole breadth of the realm, the views of General Cobb were understood and quoted as authority. . . . He was eminently a national man, and his reputation constitutes a part of the rich treasures of the American people.

As Speaker of the House of Representatives the record shows that he enjoyed the respect of the members of the House without distinction of party. This is more to his credit because he served at a time when the House was torn by dissensions, and party spirit ran to bitterness, when all sense of propriety or what was due to the dignity of the House was seemingly lost. Amid it all the Speaker was calm, dignified, just, yet firm. He controlled the House and led the members to more peaceful attitudes. As a legislator he originated no great scheme of governmental policy; as Secretary of the Treasury he displayed admirable administrative abilities, but was not a great Minister of Finance, as were some of these who preceded him, and some who have followed him. He was, however, a statesman of rare ability.

LINN BOYD

LINN BOYD—Speaker of the House of Representatives in the Thirty-second and Thirty-third Congresses. Born in Nashville, Tennessee, November 22, 1800. Son of Abraham Boyd. Education limited. Married October 20, 1832, Miss Alice C. Bennett; April 14, 1850, Mrs. Ann L. Dixon. Died at Paducah, Kentucky, December 17, 1859.

The Boyd family was a distinguished family in Virginia, South Carolina, Tennessee, and Kentucky. They were descendants of Robert Burns, the great poet of the people. In the early history of the settlement of Virginia the Boyds were prominent. Later a branch removed to South Carolina. It is from that branch the subject of this sketch came.

In the war for independence the Boyds took the part of the Colonies, a number of them serving in the patriot army. Abraham, the father of Linn, was but sixteen years of age when he enlisted to fight the armies of the King. Peace opened up a great field for the emigrant in what was then the west. Tennessee, Kentucky, and the territory northwest of the Ohio River were waiting for the coming of pioneers. In 1788 Abraham Boyd and Andrew Jackson left their South Carolina homes, crossed the mountains, locating at first in the little village of Nashville. The two adventurous youths were boyhood friends, and their friendship lasted through life. In 1803 Mr. Boyd removed to Kentucky, but he remained true to his friendship for Jackson.

In 1819 he was appointed one of the commissioners to treat with the Indians and to purchase from them their right to the territory east of the Ohio River. Linn grew up in this pioneer country, with but little opportunity to secure an education. He was possessed, however, with great natural talents, and he made the best use possible of the opportunities before him. In 1826 he removed to Calloway County, and such was the popularity he earned that the next year his neighbors sent him to represent them in the Legislature. He served two years, and in 1830 he was again elected for another two years. He developed power as a ready speaker, and in 1832 he was urged by his friends to stand for a seat in the National House of Representatives. He failed of an election, but running again in 1834, he was successfully elected. He entered Congress as a devoted friend and supporter of President Jackson.

It was a stormy period. Jackson's Cabinet was breaking to pieces over social matters, the fight against the United States Bank was looming darkly over the political horizon. South Carolina was causing trouble over the tariff, and threatening to nullify the act of Congress. Through it all Mr. Boyd stood by the Old Hero. All this so angered the voters of his district that he lost the election in 1836, but was successful two years later, and was returned at each election until he had served eighteen years.

He began his congressional career when Andrew Jackson was President, and closed it while Frank Pierce held that high office. When Texas was knocking at the door for entrance into the Union, Mr. Boyd was one of the committee selected to prepare a plan for the annexation of the Lone Star State. It was fully understood it could not be accomplished by a treaty, as that would require a two-thirds vote in the Senate, and that vote could not be obtained. So some other plan had to be adopted. It has been claimed for Mr. Boyd that he was the author of the plan which was finally adopted, that of securing the annexation by resolution, which would require only a majority vote.

He also drew up the bill of complaint against Mexico, which was virtually a declaration of war against that country. As all students

of history know, the annexation of Texas opened wide the agitation of slavery. On that subject Mr. Boyd stood with Clay and Webster—for the Union. He supported the compromise measure of 1850. He loved the Union and ever frowned upon the talk of disunion. In every respect he was a remarkable man, and for a score of years stood as one of the leaders of the Democratic party. As a debator, he was quick and strong. He could not be classed as one of the great orators of his day, but he was a speaker of more than ordinary strength. His influence with his colleagues was more a personal influence than by oratory. Ben. Hardin, who for years was one of his colleagues in the House, and who knew him well, thus appraises him in his book of reminiscences:

“Linn Boyd was a native of Tennessee, where he grew to manhood, then emigrating to Kentucky. His first official position was that of sheriff. In his twenty-seventh year he entered the Legislature, representing Graves, Hickman, McCracken, and Calloway Counties. This was in 1827. The following year he was a member for Calloway, and in 1831 for Trigg County. He began a long and brilliant congressional career in the Twenty-fourth Congress, serving altogether eighteen years, during four of which he was Speaker of the House. He had begun life with limited education, and under no other auspices than his indomitable will and tireless energy. In his last years he aspired to the United States Senate. With a view to this he sought the Democratic nomination for Governor in 1859, but, being defeated, he was, against his protest, nominated for Lieutenant Governor. The ticket that year was not infrequently called the ‘Kangaroo ticket.’ He was elected, but died before entering upon the duties of office.”

NATHANIEL PRENTISS BANKS

NATHANIEL PRENTISS BANKS—Speaker of the House of Representatives in the Thirty-fourth Congress. Born in Waltham, Massachusetts, January 30, 1816. Son of Nathaniel Prentiss and Rebecca (Greenwood) Banks. Educated in common schools. Married April 16, 1847, Miss Mary Palmer. Died in Waltham, Massachusetts, September 1, 1894.

For more than a third of a century Nathaniel Prentiss Banks was an outstanding figure in the history of the country. He was elected a member of the National House of Representatives ten times, but not consecutively. His first election was as a coalition Democrat. It was at a time when the old parties were going to pieces, and new parties were forming. Slavery was the agitating issue and the Democratic party had split in the North. The American or Know Nothing party was strong in a number of the States both North and South. The Whig

party had practically gone out of existence, and the Republican was beginning to function.

In Mr. Banks' district neither party was strong enough to send one of its members to Congress, but by a coalition of the Anti-slavery Democrats and the Know Nothings Mr. Banks succeeded in securing the election. At that time he was known as a Democrat. His first election was to the Thirty-third Congress. He was reelected to the Thirty-fourth as an American, and to the Thirty-fifth as a Republican. He was then out of Congress for several years, but in 1865 he was once more a member, being elected as a Republican to the Thirty-ninth, Fortieth, Forty-first, and Forty-second Congresses, and as Liberal Republican to the Forty-fourth and Forty-fifth Congresses.

Mr. Banks was another of the illustrations of the opportunities before every American boy. Born to poverty, working, at a very tender age, in a factory, getting his education through his own unaided efforts; with a steady aim and a great natural ability he climbed up the ladder until he nearly reached the highest round known to American political or official life. In studying the character and achievements of such a man as Nathaniel P. Banks proved to be, it is well to begin the study in his days of boyhood, for it is in the days of boyhood the foundation for the superstructure is laid, and the superstructure depends for its fulfillment on the soundness of the foundation.

As Henry Clay in the days of his political prosperity was called "The Mill Boy of the Slashes," so Nathaniel P. Banks was called by his friends, "The Bobbin Boy of Waltham." This name he derived from the fact that when a very small boy he worked for several months as "bobbin boy" in a factory in his native town. From that he graduated to the machine shop and became a really good machinist. All this before he proved his worth to his fellow citizens as an orator.

He was a precocious boy but had to struggle with many difficulties in obtaining even the foundation of an education. He had learned, through the teachings of his mother, to read before he was old enough to begin a school life, and from the very beginning of his being able to place words together and to know their meaning he displayed a passion for reading, and read every book that he could get into his possession. He could hardly be induced to take enough sleep to sustain himself physically if he could but get a book to read.

When he was old enough to enter school he quickly took a first place through his studious habits. He was usually the first in his studies in each class, and it is said of him that at a very early age he attracted the attention of his teachers and others by his fondness for declamations, and the rare ability he displayed in rendering the thoughts of others in a public manner. In athletics he surpassed all his school-mates, and it is probably due to his indulgence in athletic sports which kept him physically strong when so much of his time was given to reading and study.

His school days were destined to soon end, however, owing to the fact that it became necessary for him to aid the family by his earning power. It was a great sorrow to the lad to give up his school, but he did not falter. A place as bobbin boy was vacant in a factory and Nathaniel, or Nat, as he was called, applied for and obtained the place. In that employment he was as steady and as faithful as he had been in school, and soon won the respect of those immediately over him in the factory.

Fortunately for him the owners of the factory maintained a small but carefully selected library for the use of the employees, and of this the young bobbin boy made good use. His hours during the day were given to the work assigned him, but the evenings and Sundays were mainly given to reading, thus storing his mind with the best thoughts of the writers of the books. Shakespeare early became a favorite with him, as did Locke's "Essay on the Understanding." He lost no time in idleness. With him it was work, then study. It is recorded of him that on one occasion he walked to Boston, a distance of more than ten miles, and expended the only dollar he possessed in the purchase of a book. Also that on more than one occasion he took the same long walk to listen to the speaking of Webster and Edward Everett, the two great orators of that time.

He early developed a facility for public speaking that attracted the attention of the people of the little town in which he lived. A "debating society" had been formed in Waltham and young Banks was one of its members. From this an amateur dramatic society was formed, for the purpose of producing some of Shakespeare's plays. This, it was said, alarmed the good people of Waltham, who looked upon theatricals as demoralizing, and were to be condemned. The discussion grew so warm that a debate on the subject followed. The question for debate was, "Are dramatic exhibitions beneficial to society?" The announcement of the debate drew a large audience, and several of the best speakers of the town were to take part on one side or the other of the question. Young Banks was in the audience, showing restive feeling as the debate progressed. After the regularly appointed debaters had finished what they had to say the discussion was thrown open to any others who might like to take a part. When this was announced Banks sprang to his feet, and fairly electrified the audience. This was his introduction as a public speaker to the people first of Waltham, and within a very few months to the people of Massachusetts.

He began to take interest in political matters, joining the Democratic party. He was opposed to slavery, and belonged to that wing of the Democratic party which refused to give adherence to all the demands of the South. Massachusetts had long been under the dominance of the Whigs, but that party was fast passing out of organized

existence. He had so quickly established a reputation as an orator that when he announced himself as a "Jeffersonian Democrat," that party hailed him as a most promising recruit, although he had not yet reached the age giving him a voting privilege. He had attempted to study law, but so many were the calls on him for public addresses that he could give scant time to the study of that intricate science. He kept up his reading in spite of all interruptions, yet gave much of his time to delivering addresses whenever called upon.

He became editor of a local paper and proved he could write as well as talk. This brought him into a closer connection with the politics of the day, and with the politicians. It was while thus engaged he determined to study law, but gave so much of his time to public addresses that he failed to master the intricacies of that science. He succeeded far enough to secure admission to the bar, but never actively engaged in the practice.

Slavery, even then, was one of the exciting things in politics. Mr. Banks was a Democrat but was not in sympathy with his party in its attitude as to slavery. In the course of time the differences in the party resulted in the organization of what is known in history as the "Free Soil Democrats." To this wing of the party Mr. Banks gave his allegiance. In 1849 he was elected a member of the Massachusetts House of Representatives, the youngest member at that time. He early distinguished himself as a debater of rare ability, as well as an eloquent and effective orator. He was reelected several times, always serving with ability. At one time he was Speaker of the House.

In 1853 Massachusetts had a convention to revise the constitution. Mr. Banks was elected a delegate to that convention, and on its assembling was made president of that body. His fame and his popularity steadily increased. He was elected a member of the House of Representatives in the Thirty-third Congress. He was reelected to the Thirty-fourth Congress. The slavery agitation was at its height, and the session promised to be a stormy one from the opening day.

The first struggle was over the election of a Speaker, and the struggle continued from the first Monday in December, 1855, to the second day of the following February. Mr. Banks was the candidate of a coalition between the Republicans and the anti-slavery Americans. It was a long, wearisome, and very often stormy struggle. The Americans held the balance of power, but those from the South would not vote for a candidate who opposed slavery, while those from the Northern States would not vote for a pro-slavery man. Thus they were divided into factions. At last, worn out, the House by a resolution agreed to by a majority provided that after two roll calls without result a third call should be had, when the candidate receiving the highest number of votes should be Speaker. On the 133rd ballot Mr. Banks was named Speaker. On taking the chair Mr. Banks said:

Before I proceed to complete my acceptance of the office to which I am elected, I will avail myself of your indulgence to express my acknowledgments for the honor conferred upon me. It would afford me far greater pleasure in taking the chair of the House were I supported even by the self-assurance that I could bring to the discharge of its duties, always arduous and delicate, and now environed with unusual difficulties, any capacity commensurate with their responsibility and dignity. I can only say that, in so far as I am able, I shall discharge my duty with fidelity to the Constitution, and with impartiality as it regards the rights of members. I have no personal objects to accomplish. I am animated by the single desire that I may in some degree aid in maintaining the well-established principles of our Government in their original and American signification; in developing the material interests of that portion of the continent we occupy, so far as we may do within the limited and legitimate powers conferred upon us; in enlarging and swelling the capacity of our Government for beneficent influences at home and abroad; and, above all, in preserving intact and in perpetuity the priceless privileges transmitted to us.

As to his qualifications as a Speaker perhaps there were none in the country better able to judge than the late John W. Forney, who was for so many years Clerk of the House and Secretary of the Senate. Writing some years after the exciting events of the election and services of Mr. Banks, he said: "General Banks has just been defeated for Congress in Massachusetts, after a long career, but I cannot forget the manner in which he pronounced his inaugural address as Speaker of the House sixteen years ago. His deportment during the succeeding session, his impartiality, his courtesy, and his uniform integrity, proved him to be an unrivaled statesman, and I am not without hope that we shall hear of him honorably in the future. Quitman, Barksdale, Rust, Keitt, Eustis, and other Southern fire-eaters have gone to their last account. They were men of varied and distinguished abilities, and yet not one of them, if he could speak from his grave, but would say that Nathaniel P. Banks was a just and honest presiding officer."

By the time that session of the House terminated the American party ceased to exist, and Mr. Banks allied himself with the new Republican party. By them he was elected to succeed himself in the House, where he served until he resigned to become Governor of Massachusetts. He was twice reelected to that office. His services as Chief Magistrate of the State gave uniform satisfaction to his party, and they resulted in increased honor for the State. On the expiration of his third term as Governor he retired from public life. Being elected President of the Illinois Central Railroad he removed to Chicago, and was there when the firing upon Fort Sumter precipitated civil war.

Mr. Banks at once resigned his office with the railroad and offered his services to the Government. He was commissioned a Major General of volunteers. His first services as a soldier was in the East, where he fought his first battle. It was at Winchester he was so famous during the Civil War. He remained in the Shenandoah Valley for

some months, advancing, retreating, fighting. Sometimes he was moderately successful in the fighting, and other times he was the defeated one.

New Orleans had been captured by the Union forces and placed under the command of General Ben. Butler. His iron rule made him exceedingly obnoxious to the South, and many complaints were rife in the North. The administration finally found itself forced to change commanders at that important point. General Banks was selected. His government of the city was, in the main, admirable, but his military exploits, except in the instance of the reduction of Port Hudson, were notable for their failure.

In 1864 he was relieved of his command, and resigned his commission as Major General. On his return to Massachusetts he was again elected to Congress, and was continually reelected until 1877, when he was appointed United States Marshal for Massachusetts. During those years in Congress his voice was always heard for the Union, for the growth and prosperity of the whole country. He did not accept all that his party declared for, and became what was known as a "Liberal Republican." He was not always in harmony with his party on the question of the reconstruction of the lately seceded States.

There is, and perhaps always will be, a difference in the estimate placed upon the ability of Mr. Banks. As a soldier he was patriotic but failed as a commander of an army. He lacked the training for military service of a higher order, and lacked the genius for war possessed in so eminent a degree by John A. Logan, Frank P. Blair, and J. D. Cox, who without training became great commanders. It would have been better for his reputation, and, also, for the country, had Mr. Banks not been given a command in the Army. The difference of opinion will be as to his qualities as a statesman. He was a great man and deserved all the civil honors bestowed upon him. In Congress he served on many important committees, and in 1869 was Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, and led the Committee and the House through several important and troublesome affairs. Perhaps there were none of his cotemporaries better able to speak of him than the late Senator George F. Hoar. In his autobiography Mr. Hoar draws this picture of Mr. Banks:

I do not think his countrymen have estimated Nathaniel P. Banks at his true value. When he left office at the ripe age of seventy-five a public service ended surpassed in variety and usefulness by that of few citizens of Massachusetts since the days of John Adams. He bore a great part in a great history. Men who saw him in his later life, a feeble, kindly old man, with only the remains of his stately courtesy, had little conception of the figure of manly strength and dignity he presented when he presided over the Constitutional Convention of 1853, or took the oath of office as Governor in 1858. He raised himself from a humble place, unaided, under the stimulant of a native and eager desire for excellence. He was always regarded by the working people of Massachusetts as the type of what was

best in themselves and as the example and representative of the great opportunity which the Republic holds out to its poorest citizens and their children. He was a natural gentleman, always kindly and true. From this trait and not because of want of fidelity to his own convictions he found as warm friends among his political opponents as among his political associates. . .

The older public men of Massachusetts did not take kindly to Banks. He was a man of the people. He was sometimes charged, though unjustly, with being a demagogue. He sometimes erred in his judgment. But he was a man of large and comparative visions, of independence, and exerted his vast influence with the people for high ends. He might justly be called, like the negro Toussaint, *L'Ouverture*,—The Opener. His election as Governor extracted the people from the mire of Know-nothingism. His election as Speaker of the Massachusetts House of Representatives was part of the first victory over the Whig dynasty which had kept the State contrary to its best traditions, in alliance with slavery. His election as Speaker of the United States House of Representatives was the first National Republican victory.

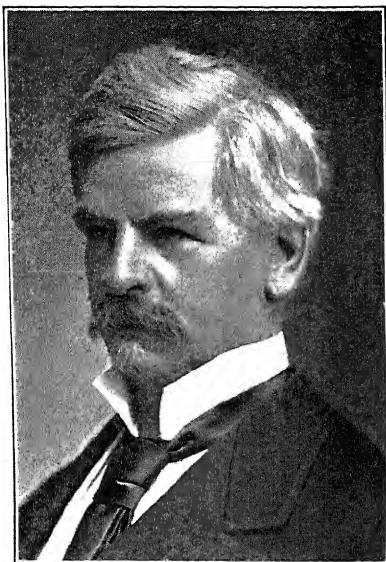
As an orator Mr. Banks was entitled to a place among the greatest of his day. His arguments were close, his reasoning logical, while his command of the English language gave him the power to express his thoughts in a manner that often reached the highest eloquence. His administration of the office of Governor of Massachusetts won high praises even from his political foes. Honest, upright, no corruption ever stained his name. He hated slavery because it was slavery; he loved the country and the Union; he saw a future wherein the United States would hold the highest place among the nations of the earth, if the Union was preserved, and with that exalted idea he battled with the enemies of the Union.

He had an ambition to be President. It was a laudable ambition, but it had not caused him to waver in his policies, nor did he permit it to embitter his life, as the same ambition had done with some of the other great men of the nation. In his boyhood he longed for an education. He frequently told how he had worked in a mill five days in a week, and on Saturday walk ten miles to Boston to spend the day in the Athenæum Library, and then walk back ten miles at night, and of how he often peered through the gate as he passed Harvard College and longed for the learning one might obtain there. Such a boy was the father to the man Nathaniel P. Banks became.

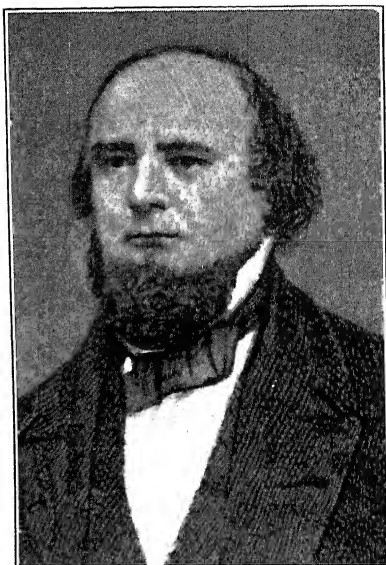
JAMES LAWRENCE ORR

JAMES LAWRENCE ORR—Speaker of the House of Representatives in the Thirty-fifth Congress. Born at Craytonville, Anderson County, South Carolina, May 12, 1822. Son of Christopher and Martha (McCann) Orr. Educated at University of Virginia. Died in St. Petersburg (now Petrograd), Russia, May 5, 1873.

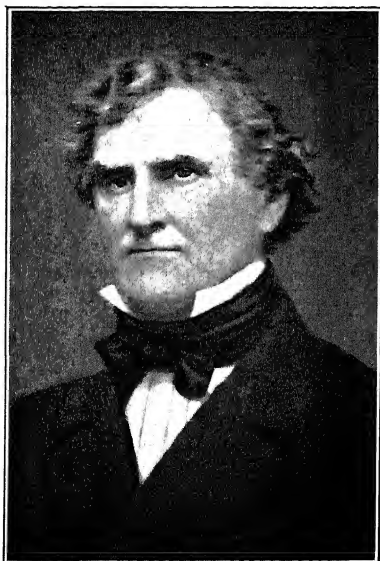
Mr. Orr was one of that class of men in the South who favored



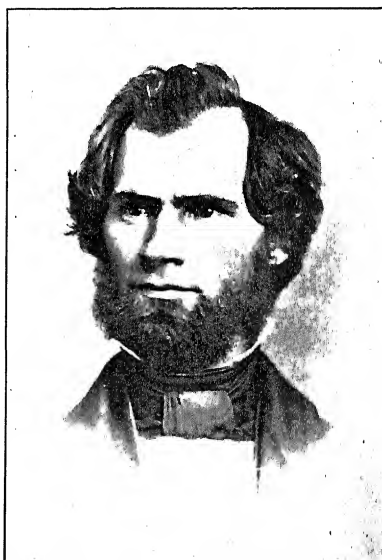
NATHANIEL P. BANKS,
Massachusetts
Thirty-fourth Congress



JAMES L. ORR, South Carolina
Thirty-fifth Congress



WILLIAM PENNINGTON, New Jersey
Thirty-sixth Congress



GALUSHA A. GROW, Pennsylvania
Thirty-seventh Congress

slavery, loved the Union, yet joined the Confederacy. He was of Irish descent, his forebears coming to this country early in the eighteenth century. Having cast in their lot with the colonies when the colonies revolted and attempted to set up a government for themselves, the Irish-born Orrs speedily found their way into the troops which followed Washington. They originally settled in Pennsylvania, but, as was often the case among the earlier colonists, the family divided, one part going to South Carolina, where they became active patriots.

The subject of this sketch pursued a course of classical studies, and when fitted entered the University of Virginia, taking rank among the most studious of his class. He desired a solid, rather than a showy, education, and to that end gave much of his time to the close study of mathematics and political economy. When it came time to settle on the occupation he was to follow, his choice fell on law, and to that science he gave the same earnest efforts he had given to his studies in the university.

He had just reached adult age when he was admitted to the bar, and began practice at Anderson, in his native State. It was at a time of great political excitement throughout the country over the projected annexation of Texas, and the consequent extension of slave territory. Before the agitation over the Texas annexation had come to vex the people, the opposition to slavery and to the further extension of slave territory, a distinct opposition to the institution had developed in the North. Abolition societies were formed in several of the Northern States, and what became historically known as "the underground railroad" was in active operation. The proposed annexation of Texas added fuel to the flames then arising, and as opposition became more pronounced, the friends of the institution became more active and more aggressive.

The tariff was still a source of much trouble and complaint in some of the States, especially in South Carolina. There nullification was a common topic of conversation, and an ever-present political threat. It had not been stamped out, as President Jackson had hoped. It was still in the minds of the people, and it had many earnest and zealous advocates.

In 1844 Mr. Orr was elected to the State Legislature. He was a Democrat in political thought, an admirer of Calhoun, but opposed to the peculiar views of that great statesman as to the rights of the States. One of his first speeches as a member of the Legislature was a vehement denunciation of nullification. He was a lover of the Union, believing that all the hopes of the people depended on the Union. He hated the thought of a dismemberment of the ties which bound the States together, and fearlessly expressed his views, though to do so at that juncture was to endanger his future political aspirations.

He served two years in the Legislature, proving to be a clear-headed,

courageous statesman, and an orator of more than usual powers. He advocated a reform in the public school system; a reform that would broaden the way to an education for the children of the State. On that question he made a number of speeches before his colleagues, which attracted the attention of the people at large. He was, for a time, the owner and editor of a newspaper in Anderson, and through its columns he ardently urged the reforms he sought to bring about. At that time the public school system of South Carolina was anything but perfect. In fact the wealthier class of the citizens either opposed the system, or were lukewarm toward it. They could provide private instruction for their sons and daughters until they were fitted to enter some institution of higher education, and then sent them to such institution. The public schools found their rolls of students among the poorer classes, and the wealthy had but little use for the poor, at that time.

Mr. Orr saw all this. Filled with youthful enthusiasm for bettering the citizenry of the State, he regarded the public schools as a great and powerful medium for future good, and he desired to place the schools of South Carolina on a par with the best in the country. He did accomplish much, but was unable to bring the Legislature up to the high standard he had hoped to reach. His fearlessness in these efforts to bring about a reform made him popular with the people of his district, and in 1848 he was elected to Congress, and was regularly reelected until 1858, when he voluntarily declined to again be a candidate.

The annexation of Texas had been effected; the agitation regarding slavery was still further inflamed. The Wilmot Proviso added fuel to the flames. This Proviso was to limit the area of slavery in the territory to be obtained from Mexico. Several efforts were made to compromise the matter. Slave territory was to be limited, and as an offset to the South a new and more stringent law in regard to fugitive slaves was to be enacted. Against every suggestion of compromise Mr. Orr quickly and emphatically placed himself. He was willing the proposed new law for the recapture and return of escaping slaves should be passed, for he held that slaves were property, property protected by the Constitution, and, therefore, the owner had a right under the Constitution to follow his escaping slave, and repossess himself of his property wherever found, and that it was the duty of the law officers of the Federal Government and also of those of the State governments to give all aid necessary.

In his speeches he deplored the agitation of slavery, and believed it should be prohibited by law, because of its tendency to disturb the peace of the community, and eventually endanger the perpetuity of the Union. Hence he opposed what is known as the Compromise Measure of 1850, a measure admitting California into the Union under certain conditions. Even then mutterings of disunion were heard al-

most daily in the halls of Congress. These Mr. Orr frowned upon. He desired the perpetuity of the Union, but it must be a perpetuity with slavery in such States as desired to have it as one of its domestic institutions.

During a part of the time he served in the House he was chairman of the Committee on Indian Affairs. This caused him to make a thorough study of the condition of the original inhabitants of the country, and he sought to work out some ameliorations of the red men, and thus prevent for the future the wars which had been so disastrous to them and so destructive to the white pioneers in some sections. Treaties with the tribes had been made, and in many instances had been broken by the whites. It became an object with Mr. Orr to prevent a recurrence of such actions on the part of the white settlers. His maxim was justice to the red man, justice absolute. If a reservation were set off for the occupancy of the Indians, every invasion of it by the white man was to be punished. He was able to accomplish much in that direction, but not all he desired. He became known among the tribes as their friend and champion.

While the Whig party was disintegrating a new party came into existence. It was known in some sections as "The Native American Party," but its general designation was "The Know Nothing Party." To the present generation that peculiar party is only a tradition. It had its origin in the South. Its creed was opposition to all foreigners, and to all Roman Catholics. It taught that as a native born American boy was required to reach the age of twenty-one years before taking part in governmental affairs, even as to exercising the right of suffrage, all foreigners should be required to have a residence in this country for a like term of twenty-one years before being admitted to the voting booth. The argument was that the arrival on these shores of one born and bred in an autocracy was his actual political birth, hence the required residence period.

The party grew very strong in some cities, and riots were of frequent occurrence. It had proved strong enough to elect representatives in Congress, and in State Legislatures. In one or two instances it had elected a Governor of a State. The danger to the perpetuity of our institutions should such a party grow to be the ruling party of the country impressed itself on some of the leading politicians, and they began efforts to permanently defeat and overthrow the party. One of these was Governor Wise, of Virginia. With him was joined Mr. Orr. Those two men led the opposition until the obnoxious party went out of existence, to be revived in these latter days as the Ku Klux.

Mr. Orr was elected Speaker of the Thirty-fifth Congress. It was the first Congress under President Buchanan. Slavery was the one absorbing issue. "Squatter Sovereignty," as promulgated by Mr. Douglas, was constantly before Congress in one shape or another.

Kansas was the political battleground—one side endeavoring to force slavery into the Constitution, the other endeavoring to keep it out. In both the House and Senate threats of disunion were heard daily, in fact almost hourly. Speaker Orr believed in the right of secession, but opposed it at that time as being inopportune, and without just cause. In the campaign of 1860 he was a supporter of Breckenridge, but deplored the attitude of the people of the South toward a dissolution of the Union should Mr. Lincoln succeed in the election.

South Carolina seceded, and then Mr. Orr submitted to what seemed to him to be the inevitable. He followed his State. He was anxious, however, for peace, and hoped secession might be granted without a resort to war. He was one of the Commissioners sent by South Carolina to Washington to negotiate for the peaceable surrender to the State of the Government forts in Charleston harbor. In a conversation with the President he advanced his belief that if war was averted the seceding States would soon become again a part of the Union.

The Commission accomplished nothing and war followed the seizure of the forts. During the war he stood by the State until the end came. When it came he accepted the result in good faith, urging his fellow citizens to follow his example, thus the more quickly to reach a full rehabilitation of the State as a member of the Union. He served in the Confederate Congress, but was not popular with Mr. Davis, as he opposed many of the extreme measures of the administration. All this made him the logical candidate for Governor when the State was again given political power. As Governor he advocated giving the freedmen limited suffrage. This drove from him many of those who had stood steadfastly to his fortunes, and he was assailed with the most bitter abuse the enemies of suffrage could heap upon him.

Believing that an open adherence to the Republican party was the surest means of complete restoration of political affairs in the South, he united with that party. This only opened wider the vials of wrath of his former friends. President Grant appointed him Minister to Russia. His health was undermined by his labors against great opposition for a full restoration of the Union, and he did not long stand the rigor of the Russian climate. He died in far-away St. Petersburg, far away from his native land.

As Speaker of the House he endeavored to hold in check the angry passions which swayed both parties, but many times failed to keep peace on the floor. His sympathies were with the advocates of slavery, but his sympathies did not sway his judgment and he endeavored to hold the reins with a tight but impartial hand.

WILLIAM PENNINGTON

WILLIAM PENNINGTON—Speaker of the House in the Thirty-sixth Congress. Born in Newark, New Jersey, May 4, 1796. Son of Governor William Sandford and Phoebe (Wheeler) Pennington. Educated at Princeton College. Married Miss Caroline Burnett. Died in Newark, New Jersey, February 16, 1862.

The Pennington family was long prominent in the political and civic life of New Jersey. William Sandford Pennington was Governor and Chancellor. He served gallantly and well in the Revolutionary War. He was twice elected Governor of the State. His son, William, the subject of this sketch, followed closely in the footsteps of his distinguished father, serving the State in numerous capacities—as Judge, Chancellor, Governor.

Leaving college, he began the study of law as a pupil of Theodore Frelinghuysen, one of the most distinguished lawyers of his time.

One who knew him well thus wrote of him: "He was an honorable man, standing in the foremost rank of those who merit the appellation. Honorable was the title he wore in virtue of the official stations which he from time to time occupied; but men when they called him by that title never sneered as they sometimes do in other cases, thinking what a satire it is upon the littleness of those who so often happen to acquire it. They gave it to him cordially. They felt it belonged to him by more than human right; the fitting prefix to a stately name, and the appropriate designation of a noble character, thinking more of his manly worth than of his official station. . . . The fundamental qualities of his nature, those elements which formed the real stuff of man, and rendered him peculiarly what he was, and earned for him his distinction, were sound, practical common sense, cautious judgment, thorough sincerity, integrity of purpose, quick intuitive perceptions of and a strong regard for the right, all strengthened and regulated by a profound conviction of the truth and reality of religion, a conviction which obtained in him with singular force long before he professed a vital faith in Christianity. . . . These powers and virtues formed the underlying granite of the man. They were not acquired, but innate qualities; habits, in the old sense of the term, which showed themselves spontaneously and gave him his peculiar type, and laid the foundation for future attainments and distinction."

Beginning the practice of his profession, he soon won success. He began his political life almost at once, becoming very active in party affairs, and was early acknowledged a leader. He became a Whig, following the leadership of Henry Clay.

His first civic office was that of Clerk of the Circuit and District Courts of Newark. In 1828 he was sent to the State Assembly, and in 1837 he was elected Governor. At that time the Governor was

elected by the Legislature. He was reelected annually until 1843, when the Democrats obtained a majority in the Legislature.

For six years he was Chancellor and Judge of the Prerogative Court, his decisions giving general satisfaction. He took a common-sense view of the cases brought before him, and gave his decisions without regard to technicalities. It has been said that only one of his decisions was overruled by the Court of Appeals. One who practiced before his court said that "probably no man that ever acted as the presiding officer of the old court of errors exercised such a controlling influence over its decisions as he did. The purity of his motives was never questioned. His opinions are models of condensed and lucid exposition."

As Governor, he was punctual in attendance to his duties, courteous in his treatment of those having business with him, and usually wise and prudent in the administration of the affairs of the State. There was one instance, however, which awakened at the time much criticism, although he could not readily be charged with wrongdoing.

In the congressional election of 1838 the New Jersey members of the House were elected by the State at large, and not by districts. Six members were to be elected on a general ticket. In two of the counties the clerks had rejected the returns from some of the townships for real or alleged deficiencies in the form of the certificates, or in the time of delivering them.

By the omission of those votes five of the Whig candidates received majorities they would not have been entitled to had all the votes been counted. One of the six was undoubtedly elected, and no question was raised as to him. Under the election law as it was at that time in New Jersey it was the duty of the Governor and his privy council to cast up the votes and determine who had been elected. When that was done his duty required him to issue a commission under the great seal of the State. Acting under this law, Governor Pennington gave commissions to all six of the Whig candidates, who, according to the certifications before him, had the greatest number of votes. It seems there was no law authorizing him to take any measures to correct the returns, and so he had to act on them as they came to him.

Naturally, this furnished one of the most exciting scenes ever witnessed in the National House of Representatives. Five Democratic candidates contested the election of the five Whigs to whom the certificates had been issued. When the House met, if the five contested Whigs were permitted to vote that party would be able to elect the Speaker and otherwise organize the House. If not permitted to vote, the Democrats would have the winning hand. The Clerk of the House refused to call the names of the Whigs, notwithstanding they held the certificates, and thus, day after day, the House was unable to organize. This condition finally brought John Quincy Adams to the front, who boldly put a motion he made without regarding the Clerk, who was,

until the House was organized, its presiding officer. The account of this action is given more in detail in the sketch of R. M. T. Hunter, who was finally elected Speaker. The five contesting Democratic candidates were finally given the seats by the House.

As to his ability as a party leader, an early writer said: "The great popularity and wonderful good sense of Governor Pennington made him, as has been remarked, the best leader of the Whig party they ever had in the State." Notwithstanding his excellent methods in party management, he at last angered some members of the party, and in 1843, when the party, under his leadership, nominated a candidate for Congress, the disgruntled members of the party put forward an independent candidate. The Democrats accepted the independent, and thus defeated the regular nominee. It is said that the majority of those who bolted the ticket on this occasion finally became Democrats in full standing.

The Whig party went down to final defeat in the election of 1852, and a new party came into existence, whose leading principle was the resistance to the further extension of slavery. The whole country was aflame with excitement over the repeal of the Missouri Compromise and the attempt to force slavery on the people of Kansas. By this new party Mr. Pennington was nominated and elected in 1858 a member of the National House of Representatives.

The Thirty-sixth Congress was the closing one of Buchanan's administration, and the air was full of threats of disunion should the new party ever obtain power in the country. It turned out that, although this was his first appearance as a member of the House, he was destined to spring into national prominence. It was not expected by him, for he had no thought of such prominence. It came all unexpected through a combination of circumstances.

When the House met in December, 1859, a long and angry contest over the election of a Speaker followed. The opposition to the administration had a decided majority in the House, but it was divided between the Republicans, the Anti-Lecompton Democrats, and a number of the Native American party.

The Anti-Lecompton Democrats opposed the administration only as to its attitude on the slavery question. The Native Americans were divided, those from the South favoring slavery and those from the North opposing that institution. The Republicans nominated John Sherman, of Ohio, as their candidate for Speaker, and the Democrats put forward Mr. Bocock, of Virginia. The feeling throughout the country and in Congress was intensified by the attempt of John Brown to bring about a revolt among the slaves.

On the first ballot Mr. Bocock received the full vote of the administration Democrats, while the Republican vote was divided between Mr. Sherman, the party candidate, and Galusha A. Grow, of Pennsyl-

vania, a Republican of a milder sort. A few months before Congress met a man by the name of Helper published a book violently assailing slavery, especially from an economic point of view. The book greatly angered the South, and it had much to do with the election of a Speaker in the House.

On the second day of the session a member from Missouri offered the following resolution:

WHEREAS, Certain members of this House, now in nomination for Speaker, did endorse and recommend the book hereinafter mentioned,

Resolved, That the doctrines and sentiments of a certain book, called "The Impending Crisis of the South—How to Meet It," purporting to have been written by one Hilton R. Helper, are insurrectionary and hostile to the domestic peace and tranquility of the country, and that no member of this House who has endorsed and recommended it is fit to be Speaker of this House.

This resolution was aimed especially at Mr. Sherman. When presented it brought forth an angry debate, the Clerk, as presiding officer, ruling it was debatable. A flood of talk became a deluge, and raged for eight weeks. The talk ranged over the whole scale of issues—the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, the fugitive slave law, the right of secession, the slave trade. President Buchanan and his administration were assailed by the Republicans and the Anti-Lecompton Democrats. Secession, revolution were openly advocated. One of the great speeches of the debate was that made by Representative Hickman, of Pennsylvania. He still claimed to be a member of the Democratic party, and in response to some implied threats of a dissolution of the Union under certain circumstances, he said:

I know that many men have been alarmed in times past at the cries of dissolution, but I have never yet seen a Northern man who expressed any alarm at the results of a dissolution of the Union. I will state what my conviction is on the subject. I do not know, however, that I thoroughly understand what is meant by a dissolution of the Union. If it means a dividing line of sentiment between the North and the South and virtual non-intercourse, we have reached that dissolution already, for Northern men cannot now travel in the South, and, as I understand it, any postmaster in any village of the South, where the receipts of the office would not amount to five dollars, can, if a letter bearing my frank goes into his hands, open it, examine it, and burn it, on the pretext that it is incendiary. Sir, we have reached the dividing line between the North and South. But if this dissolution means that there is to be a division of territory, by Mason and Dixon's line, or by any other line, I say: "No! that will never be. I express my opinion, and that opinion may go before the country, whether false or true, when I say: No! the North will never tolerate a division of the territory."

The weary balloting and talking went on, day after day, for eight long and tiresome weeks without perfecting an organization of the House. The Republicans continued to cling to Sherman as their candidate, while the Democrats shifted from one to another. At last they began voting for Mr. Smith, of South Carolina, in hopes they could draw to him the support of the Native Americans, and in that they

nearly succeeded. On one ballot he needed but one vote to make a success, and that vote was about to be cast for him, when a friend of Mr. Pennington changed his vote. He and other friends of Mr. Pennington then notified the Republicans that the name of Mr. Sherman must be withdrawn or they would let the Democrats elect Smith.

Henry Winter Davis, a Native American from Maryland, and who was known in the House as the "Prince Rupert of Debate," solved the question, casting his vote for Mr. Pennington, and thus making him Speaker. This was a strong endorsement of Governor Pennington, as he had never been a member of the House. All knew it was to be a stormy session, and one that would require all the firmness and tact which could be brought into play to maintain anything like order. Under the exacting conditions Speaker Pennington won the good will and high respect of all the members. It was universally conceded that for fairness and impartiality, wise conciliatory tact, he was equal to any who had filled that chair before him.

His character is thus summed up by one who knew him well:

Few shrunk more sensitively from the infliction of pain, and few were capable of being more powerfully aroused by the sight or sense of wrong. And if at any time the stronger impulse of feeling which few suspected to be lying beneath that courteous, self-possessed demeanor broke out, as they sometimes did, into the utterance of unkind words toward any, no man was more quick to repair the injury; and the very gentleness of the manner in which the apology would be rendered was sure to make it the occasion of drawing to him a deeper respect and a warmer friendship. In fact, he was a person of remarkable sentiment, and none could be an inmate of his family without being struck with the graceful ways in which this sentiment of his, as a husband, a father, a brother, and friend was continually showing itself. It made his home a home for the heart; there he aimed to rule by love, and love alone. Severity was painful to him, and great must be the fault that would bring him to manifest it.

Mr. Pennington's death was sudden and unexpected. It was brought about by a large dose of morphine administered through the mistake of an apothecary. He was sixty-six years old, but was in full strength mentally, and there were reasons why he might look forward to years of usefulness.

GALUSHA AARON GROW

GALUSHA AARON GROW—Speaker of the House of Representatives in the Thirty-seventh Congress. Born in Ashford, Connecticut, August 31, 1823. Son of Joseph and Elizabeth (Robbins) Grow. Educated at Amherst College. Died in Glenwood, Pennsylvania, March 31, 1907.

Galusha Aaron Grow, or Aaron Galusha Grow, as he was christened, had a most unique experience in Congressional life. He was elected as a Democrat to the Thirty-second, Thirty-third and Thirty-fourth

Congresses, and as a Republican to the Thirty-fifth, Thirty-sixth and Thirty-seventh Congresses. He was Speaker in the Thirty-seventh Congress. He was defeated for re-election to the House for the Thirty-eighth Congress, it being the only case on record where a Representative was defeated for reelection to the House while he was Speaker. After an absence of thirty-one years he was again sent to Congress for three terms, this being the only instance of a return after so long an absence.

The transition of his name from Aaron Galusha to Galusha Aaron was an amusing incident. At the time of his christening an aunt, living in Vermont, was a visitor to the Grow home. Her husband's name was Aaron, and she asked to have the boy named for him. She was also a warm friend of Governor Galusha, of Vermont, and requested to add his name. Consent was given and the child christened Aaron Galusha. The Grows had a neighbor whose name was Aaron and they began to fear it might be said that their boy had been named for him. So a family council was held, and decided to call him "Galusha" Grow. That did well enough until the boy grew old enough to write his name. At first it was "A. Galusha Grow, 2." But that did not suit. A was an indefinite article so the boy decided on "Galusha A."

His father died when Galusha was but four years old, leaving his family in impoverished circumstances. The six children were taken by members of the family, Galusha going to his maternal grandfather with two of his brothers. The grandfather was a farmer and the boys were put to work, Galusha being the chore boy, milking the cows and caring for the horses.

He attended school during the winter months, proving an earnest student. In 1833 the mother decided to go West. Her father at once made over to her the share of his property he had intended to leave to her in his will. In the Spring of 1834, together with some friends who were also migrating, the family moved to Pennsylvania. A farm of some four hundred acres was purchased near the little hamlet of Glenwood. Among the stories of his boyhood days on the farm was one to the effect that the wild pigeons were so numerous that they destroyed about all the grain. To keep them away Galusha was assigned the duty. He was perched on the ridge pole of the barn, and was to sing, give cat-calls, and pound on the roof. He held that post from the time the corn was planted until it was harvested.

A store was started by his brother Frederick, and Galusha became his clerk. A part of the business was the purchasing and shipping of lumber, the lumber being sent to market in the form of rafts. On one such trip young Galusha went as super-cargo, and before returning home he visited Mount Vernon and Washington.

When he was about eleven years of age his mother determined to give him an education, and he was sent to the Academy, and later to

Amherst College. In 1840 he finally entered Amherst as a freshman. He was but seventeen years of age, but began to display an interest in political matters. Slavery was also dividing the people, and he took his place in the ranks of those who opposed slavery, but not as an abolitionist. He reached manhood's age during the exciting political campaign of 1844, when the opposing candidates for President were Henry Clay and James K. Polk. Grow became a Democrat supporting Polk.

It was the desire of his mother that he become a lawyer, so after leaving college he made arrangements to begin the study of that science. In the spring of 1847 he was admitted to the bar and formed a partnership with David Wilmot, the author of the famous "Wilmot Proviso." Wilmot at the time was a member of Congress. It was during the war with Mexico, and a proposition was made in Congress to appropriate a large sum to purchase a large territory from Mexico, and thus end the war. The Wilmot Proviso was an amendment he offered to the bill providing that "in any territory acquired from Mexico neither slavery or involuntary servitude shall ever exist otherwise than as a punishment for crime." For many years that proviso was a thorn in the way of ambitious men. In some sections to have voted for it, or to have favored it, was regarded as a political crime. In other sections to have opposed it was a criminal act politically. It finally defeated its author for a seat in the House.

The partners divided in political allegiance in 1848, Grow supporting Cass, the regular nominees of the Democrats, while Wilmot joined the Free Soil party, which was running Van Buren. It brought about a split in the party in the Congressional district. Mr. Wilmot was nominated for Congress by the Free-soilers. He was a shrewd politician and a few days before the election he became convinced that he could not be elected, owing to the split in the party over the slavery question. Wilmot had been nominated by the Free-soilers, and a man by the name of Lowry was the nominee of the pro-slavery Democrats. They both agreed that it would not do to let a Whig win the race, and to prevent that a new candidate would have to be named who could harmonize the Democratic party. The choice fell on Mr. Grow.

On the slavery question Mr. Grow's attitude was that of deploring agitation of the subject, rather than favoring either side of the controversy. His nomination was followed by his election, and when he entered the House he was its youngest member. As a student in college Mr. Grow had taken much interest in the question of the disposal of the public lands. The Government owned many millions of acres of tillable land, and one of the problems before each Congress was the best way to utilize this great asset. During the administration of President Jackson there had been a veritable riot of speculating in government lands, fostered by the Secretary of the Treasury. The Gov-

ernment had withdrawn its deposits from the Bank of the United States and distributed the money among a number of State Banks. The Secretary of the Treasury conceived it would be a good way to keep the treasury full by selling off the government lands. In order to do this he urged the favored banks to loan liberally to purchasers of such lands.

The sales increased amazingly, the land being sold on time payments—one-third cash, and the remainder in annual installments. The banks loaned the money for the first payments, the currency being their own notes. As the notes had nothing behind them, they soon fell far below the face value. This alarmed the administration and an order was issued to collectors to receive nothing but gold for the deferred payments on the land. Gold could not be had, the speculators went bankrupt, and millions of acres were forfeited to the Government. Grow, the college student, had thought upon all this. He believed that the prosperity of the country largely depended upon agriculture, and he soon reached the conclusion that the prosperity of the country would be enhanced if the Government would confine the sale of its lands to actual settlers, and that to induce them to settle and cultivate the land, proper and generous inducements should be held out by the Government.

He entered Congress with this thought fixed in his mind, and he began working out the idea. He did not dream of the long and hard fight that was before him.

His proposition was to give free homesteads to every one who would live on and cultivate the land for a fixed term of years. The lands were to be practically withdrawn from the market, except for homestead entry. This would in the future keep out the speculators. It would be an inducement to industrious persons to make entry and to cultivate the land. This, in turn, would be a benefit to all the people. It was not long until "Lands for the Landless" became a political slogan.

The scheme met its most strenuous opposition among the members from the Southern States. The lands, they claimed, were the property of all the people, and if the homestead idea should prevail, immigrants would reap the most of the benefit, and as the lands were mostly in the western section of the country, that section would be enriched at the expense of the people of the other sections. It is needless to here follow all the long struggle Mr. Grow made before victory finally perched upon his banners. It is enough to say that he renewed the fight at every session while he remained in Congress, and when he returned to the House after an absence of more than thirty years he began the fight again, and continued until he won.

He did not take a very active part in the proceedings of the House for the first session or two, contenting himself with learning the meth-

ods, thus fitting himself for the important part he was to play in coming sessions. He made few speeches, and none of them of great length. Nearly all of them were on the one subject which occupied his mind, furnishing homesteads to industrious tillers of the soil. Among his first speeches on this subject he gave this strong indication of the metal that was in him: "As the means of sustaining life," he said, "are derived almost entirely from the soil, every person has a right to so much of the earth's surface as is necessary to his support. To whatever unoccupied portion of it, therefore, he shall apply his labor for that purpose, from that time forth it should become appropriated to his exclusive use; and whatever improvements he may make by his industry, it should become his property and subject to his disposal, for the only true foundation for any right to property is man's labor."

While not given to much speaking, Mr. Grow quickly grew into the confidence and respect of his colleagues. They soon recognized his ability and his earnestness. Slavery was an agitating subject and was almost continually before Congress in some form. The controversies in the House often resulted in riotous scenes when personal conflicts occurred. Those scenes disgusted Mr. Grow. He was not a broiler and avoided, as a rule, the use of language that would arouse angry feelings. He was reelected to Congress by an increased majority. It was the election that gave the Presidency to Franklin Pierce on a platform which pledged the Democratic party "to resist all attempts at renewing, in Congress or out of it, the agitation on the slavery question, under whatever shape or color the attempt may be made." It was a great pledge, yet the party that made the pledge proceeded at once to break it, by attempting to repeal the Missouri Compromise.

Grow had entered Congress rather as a friend than an opponent of slavery. He was a compromise candidate and acceptable because he was not so pronounced against slavery as Wilmot, his predecessor. He was rapidly changing his attitude, and he had not completed his third term before he was much more radical as an anti-slavery man than his predecessor had ever been. He vehemently opposed the attempt to break down the compromise on which Missouri had been admitted as a State in the Union, and the boundaries of slave territory fixed. In all our Congressional history the riotous scenes in the House during the Thirty-second and Thirty-third Congresses were never equaled. Personal encounters were of almost daily occurrence, and challenges to the "field of honor" were frequent.

Mr. Grow had become a Republican, and as a Republican had been returned to his seat in the House. The Thirty-fourth Congress was almost as riotous as had been the two preceding Congresses. The fight was on to make Kansas free territory. President Buchanan in his message seemingly defended those who were striving to carry Kansas into line with the South. This gave an occasion for Mr. Grow to enter

the ranks of the defenders of freedom in that section. The President had said something about the people surrendering themselves to the supposed interests of the few Africans in the United States. To this Mr. Grow said:

The men of the North have not surrendered themselves to the "supposed interests of the relatively few Africans in the United States." The rights of the citizens of Kansas are the rights of twenty-five millions of Americans, and the wrongs of one should be adopted as the wrongs of the other. If the rights of one man in this country can be trampled by legislative enactment, the rights of all may be. When men are disfranchised by law and the law rests upon the Government for validity and sanction, it comes home to every person, no matter in what part of the Republic he lives; and he who would sit quietly down and permit wrong and injustice to be done to a citizen of the country when he can prevent it is guilty of a dereliction of duty. The supervision of all their legislation being under control of Congress, let it remove from the people these odious enactments which the President has declared must be enforced, and secure them the free and undisturbed exercise of their civil rights and privileges.

By this time Mr. Grow had become one of the leaders of the Republicans in the House, and wielded much influence in their councils. He was an ardent supporter of the men in Kansas who were endeavoring to keep slavery out, and presented a bill to the House to repeal all the existing laws in Kansas. This soon brought him into angry controversies with some of the Southern members, notably with Representative Keitt, of South Carolina. This at last resulted in a pitched battle on the floor of the House, which had some laughable features. The story is worth telling. Grow was the "Whip" of the Republicans, and it was a part of his duties to watch the movements of the opposite side. One day he happened to be on the Democratic side of the chamber, when some request was made which brought from him an objection. This angered Keitt who called out:

"If you want to object, go back to your side of the House, you black Republican puppy."

Mr. Grow irritatingly and defiantly replied, "I will object when and where I please." Keitt approached him in a threatening manner, demanding what he meant by his answer. He was assured by Grow that the hall belonged to the American people and that he would "stay in it where I please and no slave-driver shall crack his whip over my head."

At this Keitt aimed a blow at Grow, but he had met a man of mettle, who parried the blow and in return gave the fiery South Carolinian one under the ear that sent him to the floor. By this time the House was in an uproar, the Democrats rushing to the aid of Keitt, and the Republicans to the defense of Grow. It was then the uproar was turned into a laughing bee by the remark of a visitor in the gallery. Among the Democrats who were "spoiling" to get into the fight was Barksdale, of Mississippi. In a state of nature Barksdale was as bald as a billiard ball, but few of his colleagues knew it, for he wore a hand-

some wig. As he rushed toward Grow, a Republican member caught at him, but only caught his flowing locks, when, lo, the flowing locks came off, and the Republican flourished them in amusement. A gallery visitor saw it, and cried out in stentorian tones, "Scalped him, by thunder." This shout attracted the attention of the warring men on the floor, and in a moment both sides were laughing at the predicament of Mr. Barksdale. On another occasion Mr. Grow had a controversy with Representative Branch, of North Carolina. Branch sent him a challenge to a duel. Grow promptly replied that he did not recognize dueling otherwise than at variance with the Christian religion, and therefore would not accept any challenge, but that he was not only able, but willing to defend himself if an attack should be made upon him. It resulted in nothing serious.

In 1851 Mr. Grow paid a visit to Europe, studying conditions in all the countries of the continent and in England. In writing of this visit he said:

The more an American sees of Europe, unless wedded to antiquity or dazzled by the glitter and pomp of royalty, the more strongly attached does he become to the institutions of his own country. There was no spot that I saw after leaving New York that any consideration would induce me to make my permanent home.

The institutions and the character of the American people were at that time just beginning to be understood in Europe. Our steamers were making the fastest trips across the ocean. Our yachts were beating the fastest of the English clubs out of sight in a few hours' sail. Our agricultural and labor-saving machines were taking the first premiums in world exhibitions, and our commerce was not much less than that of England and rapidly increasing. Reflecting men inquired, "How has all this been accomplished in a half century?" and "What will the Americans be, at the rate they are going, at the end of another fifty years?"

I found that national pride was markedly wounded that Commodore Perry should have succeeded in accomplishing two years before what they had failed in centuries to accomplish.

The firing on Fort Sumter in April, 1861, caused President Lincoln to call Congress to meet in special session in July. At that special session Mr. Grow was elected Speaker. It was an important session; war was at hand, an army and a navy had to be provided. All this with an empty treasury. In this sketch it is not necessary to recount what was done by Congress at that special session, or, indeed, at the two regular sessions which followed. All that has passed into history.

As Speaker Mr. Grow did fairly well. He could not rank with some Speakers who had gone before, such as Clay, Macon, Stevenson and Banks, nor with some who came after him, such as Colfax, Randall, Carlisle, Cannon, and Champ Clark, but his administration was, on the whole, creditable. He did take advantage of the situation to crowd through his long-deferred homestead project.

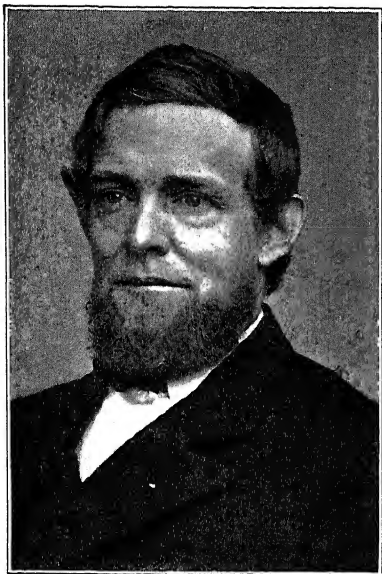
By a change in the formation of his district Mr. Grow was defeated for reelection to the House. He returned to his home in Glenwood and resumed his activities in private business. At all times he took an

active part in politics, and in aiding the administration in carrying on the war. He had made some enemies among his own party, and they managed to keep him out of office.

In 1867 he went to Texas to assume the presidency of the Houston and Great Northern Railway Company, in which he was largely interested. Under his management, which continued four years, the road was extended several hundred miles. His life in Texas did not suit him. He did not take part in politics, for it was hardly safe, at that time, for a man of his Republican antecedents to become politically active in the Lone Star State. Returning to Pennsylvania his enemies in his own party managed to keep him out of office for several years. He was growing old in years. In 1893 a vacancy in the Pennsylvania delegation in the House occurred, through the death of Mr. William Lilly, Representative at large. Mr. Grow was nominated to fill the vacancy and was elected by a majority of 181,000 votes. It was thirty-one years after he had retired from the House during the Civil War. There were but one or two members then who had been members when he was Speaker. One of those old-timers was the venerable William S. Holman, of Indiana, who acted as escort to Mr. Grow when he appeared to take the oath.

During the next three terms he was renominated without opposition, carrying the election each time by an increased majority. In 1903 he finally retired from serving the public. He had reached the venerable age of four-score years; he had lived those years without a blemish on his name. He had served his country, and served it well. On his return to his home in Glenwood the people gave him a grand welcome. All business was suspended for a time and the people all went to the station to meet and welcome the man they loved and revered.

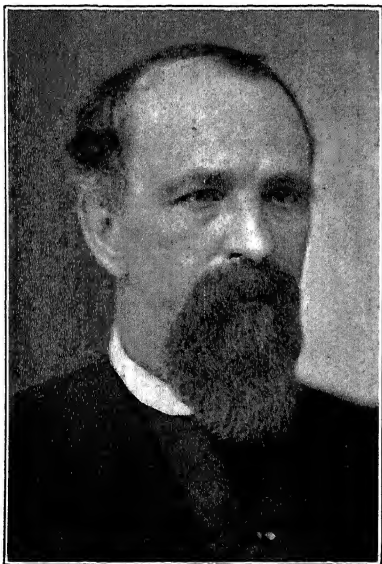
Before he died Mr. Grow became straitened in his circumstances. Andrew Carnegie, learning of this, placed him on his private pension list with a generous allowance. In a letter to a mutual friend Mr. Carnegie thus spoke of the services of Mr. Grow: "He has done a great work for mankind, a work which will bless the ages, and he deserves to spend his remaining days in peace and comfort. By his statesmanship and intelligent efforts he saved our vast territory beyond the Mississippi River for the landless of our people and thus millions of free homes were made possible to the tillers of the soil. This work alone entitles him to the gratitude and homage of all Americans, and it is a distinct pleasure to feel that I have been able to befriend him in any way. It is vouchsafed to only a few men to do great things to bless mankind and Mr. Grow was one of the favored group."



SCHUYLER COLFAX, Indiana
Thirty-eighth, Thirty-ninth and
Fortieth Congresses



MICHAEL C. KERR, Indiana
Forty-fourth Congress



SAMUEL S. COX, New York
Forty-fourth Congress



SAMUEL J. RANDALL, Pennsylvania
Forty-fifth and Forty-sixth
Congresses

SCHUYLER COLFAX

SCHUYLER COLFAX—Speaker of the House in the Thirty-eighth, Thirty-ninth, and Fortieth Congresses. Born in the City of New York, March 23, 1823. Son of Schuyler and Hannah (Stryker) Colfax. Educated in the common schools. Married, October 10, 1844, Miss Evelyn E. Clark; November 18, 1867, Miss Ellen Wade. Died in Man-kato, Minnesota, January 13, 1885.

Schuyler Colfax came from a distinguished ancestry. One of his grandfathers was an officer of high rank in the Revolutionary army, and one of his grandmothers was a member of the Schuyler family so noted in the history of New York. His father, who was engaged in the banking business, died four months before the birth of his distinguished son.

His mother, thus early left a widow, was a woman of strong mind, and early instilled in the mind of her son ambitions to climb through industry and correct living to a position of honor and influence. She was left by her husband in straitened circumstances, and her means were so limited that she was not able to give her son the education she desired for him, and for which he longed, even in his boyhood days. She did the best she could, sending him to the public schools as soon as he was old enough to be admitted. She early recognized the brightness of her son, and fostered in him a desire to take advantage of every opportunity for improvement. In school he was industrious and tractable, displaying the qualities which afterward made him famous in public life. He possessed a genial nature, never harbored ill feeling, or spoke unkindly to or of anyone.

His mother's means were so limited that he was compelled to leave school when he was but ten years old, and aid in a small way his mother's struggles for a living. He entered a store as a clerk, serving in that capacity with industry and intelligence. He remained thus employed for three years. His mother married again and removed with her husband to St. Joseph County, Indiana, taking young Schuyler with her. The lad found a kind friend and helper in his stepfather. He quickly found a situation as a clerk in a store, giving his leisure time to hard study.

At the age of seventeen he was fortunate enough to receive an appointment as Deputy Auditor of the county and removed to South Bend, which was ever afterward his home. Young as he was, he adopted a serious and systematic course of reading and study. This he continued at all his leisure hours. His position in the auditor's office brought him into contact with the politicians of the county, and he took great interest in studying the political issues of the day.

Among his other labors he studied law with absorbing interest, but never practiced, for before being ready for admission to the bar he

found an employment which better suited him, and one better suited to his talents—that of newspaper writing. His first object in all his reading and study was to master the English language, and this he did, as was later shown when he became a public speaker and an editorial writer.

In 1845, when he was twenty-two years of age, he established a paper at South Bend, which he called the "St. Joseph Valley Register." It was a hard struggle for a few years to get the paper financially a winner, but from the start it began wielding an influence on the public sentiment in that section of the State. The editorials were virile, dealing with the political issues in a straightforward, candid way, and won the confidence of the people.

While thus engaged with his paper, Mr. Colfax made it a point to attend the sessions of the State Legislature, which held annual sessions. While so attending he added to his limited income by reporting the proceedings of the Legislature for the "Indianapolis Journal." He kept up his connection with his own paper, the "Register," writing the editorials in Indianapolis and sending them by mail to South Bend. At Indianapolis he extended his acquaintance with the leading men of the State, and at the same time widened his influence with the people of his own county.

At that time the country was politically divided into two parties, Whig and Democratic. Mr. Colfax was a Whig of the Henry Clay school, and was an earnest supporter and advocate of what Mr. Clay called "The American System," a policy of aiding by protective customs duties American industries. In 1848 he was sent by the Whigs of his district a delegate to the national convention of the party. He was chosen Secretary of the convention. He was an earnest supporter of the movement to make Mr. Clay the party nominee, and his disappointment was very keen when the convention chose General Taylor as its standard-bearer. Notwithstanding his keen disappointment, he sturdily and effectively worked during the campaign for the success of General Taylor.

About that time a demand sprang up in Indiana for the formulation of a new constitution. A convention was called for that purpose and the delegates to the convention were chosen on party lines. St. Joseph County was normally strongly Democratic, but such was the popularity of Mr. Colfax with the people that he was elected a delegate.

He took an active part in the work of the convention, displaying unexpected powers as a debater. Thus year by year he widened his acquaintance and strengthened his position with the people. In 1851 he was chosen by his party as its candidate for the National House of Representatives. The district was strongly Democratic, and he had for his opponent Graham N. Fitch, an able and popular man. Mr. Colfax made a vigorous campaign, and such was his strength with the

people that Mr. Fitch won by a margin of less than two hundred and fifty votes.

He was again nominated in 1854, and that time was successful by a decided majority of the votes. This was the opening of his public service in the nation, and so strong did he prove himself that he was selected for six successive terms, making a total service in the House of fourteen years. He was then advanced to the Vice-Presidency of the nation. His last three races for the House were made against David Turpie, who some years later became a distinguished member of the United States Senate. Mr. Colfax increased his majority at each election.

By this time slavery had become one of the great issues before the country. A fugitive slave law enacted by Congress had aroused resentment in all parts of the North; in addition, there was a struggle over the organization of the Territory of Kansas. The Missouri Compromise forbade slavery in that section, and its repeal was sought. All these added to the excitement throughout the North. The Thirty-fourth Congress was politically divided into three parties, the Americans, or Know Nothings, as they were called, holding the balance of power. A number of the Democratic members were opposed to the administration's attitude in regard to Kansas. The active supporters of the administration were in a decided minority, but their opponents were inharmonious and would not, or could not, agree among themselves.

The first session of the Thirty-fourth Congress met on the 3rd of December, 1855. The first duty to be discharged was the selection of a Speaker. The struggle over making this selection continued until the 2nd of February, 1856. William A. Richardson, of Illinois, was the candidate of the administration Democrats; N. P. Banks, of Massachusetts, was the Anti-Nebraska candidate. Several other members were voted for in the beginning of the contest. On the first ballot Mr. Richardson received 74 votes and Mr. Banks only 21. Great excitement existed not only in the House of Representatives, but throughout the country. Many hot-headed Southerners were threatening secession should Mr. Banks be elected Speaker. Day after day the balloting continued.

After a struggle continuing for several weeks Representative Samuel A. Smith, of Tennessee, a Democrat, offered a resolution providing that the House should take three more ballots for Speaker, and should no one receive a majority, another call of the roll should be made, and the one receiving the highest number of votes should be declared Speaker. Under the operation of this resolution Mr. Banks was chosen Speaker on the 134th ballot.

In this long struggle Mr. Colfax, although a new member, took an active part. His first notable act was the shrewd turn he took against

a series of resolutions that had been presented by one of the members from Maryland. The resolutions declared, among other things, that the Republicans desired to break up the Union. They concluded with a declaration that the Democrats would oppose, to the very end, the election as Speaker of any man who was not unreservedly committed to Democratic principles.

Mr. Colfax obtained the floor and said that if the gentleman from Maryland would accept as a substitute for his resolutions certain resolutions he proposed to offer, he might feel constrained to vote for them. He then offered the following:

"Resolved, That this House earnestly disapproves of any attempt, open or covert, to annex the Island of Cuba to this Republic.

"Resolved, That it would heartily approve of the annexation of that part of Oregon which was surrendered to Great Britain by the administration of James K. Polk."

It was a barbed shaft, and its keenness was readily seen. As Mr. Colfax finished reading his proposed substitute he was greeted with shouts of laughter by both Republicans and Democrats. It was well known that in some parts of the South the annexation of Cuba was greatly desired, and what is known as "The Ostend Manifesto" had just been made public. Mr. Polk had been elected President on the slogan of "Fifty-four Forty, or Fight," and had accepted and approved a treaty giving Great Britain several degrees of the territory he was to insist upon if it took a fight. The keenness of the barb fired by Mr. Colfax quickly killed the resolutions of the Maryland member.

Mr. Colfax's first set speech as a member of the House was delivered in June, 1856, when the affairs of Kansas were under consideration. His speech on that occasion was a review of the laws of Kansas, and its publication at once made him favorably known to the nation. It was a forcible and analytical dissection of certain laws that had been enacted by one of the two rival Legislatures in Kansas, and which had received the approval of President Pierce. There had been some threats uttered against anyone who should speak in opposition to slavery. Mr. Colfax opened his speech on this occasion with the following defense of the right of every member of the House to the most perfect and absolute freedom of debate:

In speaking of the provisions embodied in this voluminous document, and of the manner in which these "laws" have been enforced, I may feel it my duty to use plain and direct language; and I find my exemplar, as well as my justification for it, in the unlimited debate which, from the first day of the session, has been claimed and exercised by gentlemen of the other side of the House. And, recognizing that freedom of debate as we have, to the fullest extent, subject to the rules of the House, we intend to exercise it on this side, when we may see fit to do so, in the same ample manner. Hence, when we have so frequently been called "fanatics," and other epithets of denunciation, no one on these seats has even called gentlemen of the other side to order. When it has pleased them to denounce us as

Black Republicans, or colored Republicans, we have taken no exception to the attack, for we regard freedom of speech as one of the pillars of our free institutions. When, not content with this, they have charged us with implied perjury, in being hostile to the Constitution, and unfaithful to the Union, we have been content to leave the world to judge between us and our accusers—a scrutiny in which principles will have more weight than denunciation. In spite of all these attacks we have not been moved to any attempt to restrict the perfect and most unlimited freedom of speech on the part of our denouncers; for we acknowledge the truth of Jefferson's sentiment, that "Error ceases to be dangerous when Reason is left free to combat it."

If that constitutional safeguard of our rights and liberties, free speech in debate, is to be recognized anywhere, it should certainly be recognized, enforced, and protected in this House. Every Representative of a free constituency, if worthy of that responsible position, should speak here at all times, not with "bated breath," but openly and fearlessly, the sentiments of that constituency; for, sir, it is not alone the two hundred and thirty-four members of this House who mingle in the arena of this debate, but here, within this bar, are the teeming millions of American freemen, not individually participating, as in Athens in the olden time, in the enactment of laws and the discussion and settlement of the foreign and domestic policy of the nation, but still, sir, participating in the persons of their representatives, whom they have commissioned to speak for them, in the important questions which are presented for our consideration. Here, in this august presence, before the whole American people, thus represented, stand, and must ever stand, States and statesmen, legislators and jurists, parties and principles, to be subject to the severest scrutiny and the most searching review. Here Alabama arraigns Massachusetts, as she has done through the mouth of one of her Representatives but a few weeks since; and here Massachusetts has equally the right to arraign any other State of the Confederacy. And while the Republic stands, the freedom of debate, guaranteed and protected by the Constitution, must and will be sustained and enforced on this floor.

It was a noble defense of the freedom of debate, and won for the speaker renewed applause on the floor and in the galleries. A new party had been born and was a candidate for public favor. It had been born out of the opposition to the extension of slavery. Col. John C. Fremont was named in 1856 as its candidate for the presidency. When the ticket was named Mr. Colfax became very active in its support. He was a candidate to succeed himself as a member of the House. The national ticket of his party was defeated, but he was successful by an increased majority. The Kansas question was still troubling Congress and the country. In the Thirty-fifth Congress Mr. Colfax made another speech on that subject. What is known as the Lecompton Constitution had been presented to the President for his approval. On this Mr. Colfax said:

Imagine, sir, George Washington sitting in the White House, that noble patriot, whose whole career is a brilliant illustration of honor and purity in high places; and who doubts that if such a constitution as this had been submitted to him for his sanction, he would have spurned from his door with contempt and scorn the messenger who bore it? Or, ask yourself what would have been the indignant answer of Thomas Jefferson, who proclaimed as the battle-cry of the Revolution that great truth enshrined in the Declaration which has made his name immortal,

and which scattered to the winds the sophistries and technicalities of the royalists of our land, that "all governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed," not the implied consent of enforced submission, but the actual, undeniable, unquestioned consent of the freemen who are to bear its burdens and enjoy its blessings. If a messenger had dared to enter the portals of the White House when that stern old man of iron will, Andrew Jackson, of Tennessee, lived within it, and asked him to give his indorsement and approval, the sanction of his personal character and official influence, to a constitution reeking with fraud, which its framers were seeking to enforce on a people who protested and denounced and loathed and repudiated it, and to go down to history as its voluntary advocate and champion, that messenger, I will warrant, would have remembered the torrent of rebuke with which he would have been overwhelmed to the latest hour of his life.

By some biographers and writers Mr. Colfax has been frequently referred to as the father of our homestead laws. This is not, according to the real facts in the case. It is true he had much to do in framing and securing the enactment of those laws, but he was not the first to advocate such a system. A bill of that character had been pending before the two Houses of Congress for several sessions when Mr. Colfax was appointed Chairman of the House Conferees. It was a long struggle to get the committee of conference to agree, and then it was a struggle to secure the acceptance by the House of the report of the committee. In the conferences Mr. Colfax was the placatory medium which finally obtained an agreement, and it was through his skill the report of the committee was finally concurred in.

Mr. Colfax was continually urging economy in the administration of the business of the Government, and it might be said he sometimes went to an extreme in that direction. He was also a constant advocate of cheap postage, and on several occasions attempted to secure the abolition of the franking privilege. He also advocated, with great zeal, placing sugar on the free list.

When the Thirty-sixth Congress met in December, 1859, the country was torn with excitement over the slavery question. Mr. Colfax was again a member of the House. The election of a Speaker brought another long and angry struggle. Shortly before the session was opened a book called "The Impending Crisis" had been issued. It was a severe arraignment of slavery from an economic standpoint, and it had aroused the wrath of the South. John Sherman, a Representative from Ohio, was the Republican candidate for Speaker, and Mr. Bock, of Virginia, was the Democratic candidate. The House contained a majority in opposition to the administration of President Buchanan, almost wholly because of the condition of affairs in Kansas, but the opposition was divided by factions. Immediately after taking the first ballot for Speaker, which was ineffectual, a resolution was offered that no member of the House who had endorsed the "Impending Crisis" was fit to be Speaker. It was especially aimed at Mr. Sherman.

The resolution brought a storm of protest, and an angry debate followed its introduction, especially from the more courageous among the Republicans. In the course of the struggle to elect a Speaker, which continued until the 1st of February, Mr. Colfax said:

We have appealed to the other side over and over again to apply to this election the test by which every member holds his seat on this floor. In every State of the Union, from Maine to California, Representatives to Congress are elected, not by an absolute majority vote, but by a plurality vote. There is only one exception, I believe, and that is the State of Rhode Island; and there, on a second ballot, a plurality elects. Wisely has every State of the Union determined that if the people choose to scatter their votes in the exercise of a public trust, the men who receive the highest number of votes shall be elected, so that the organization of the Government can go on, and not lapse for lack of a majority of votes. After waiting here patiently, when a petition comes in from the mail contractors, asking us to organize and pay their honest debts, we have appealed to the other side of the House to apply the same rule to the election of a Speaker that was applied to their own election, and that he who received the highest number of votes should be declared elected. We have waited to see if there would be any coalition, any cement, any billing and cooing, by which a majority could be obtained to defeat the gentleman from Ohio. We have waited for this long and patiently; it is time now when gentlemen appeal to us to pay the debts of the Government, and when they themselves stand in the way of an organization, that the same test by which they received the credentials which entitle them to seats here shall be applied to the election of a presiding officer. I have been surprised to hear gentlemen who are such strict constructionists of the Constitution talk about electing a Speaker *pro tempore* for this House. Such a thing is unknown to the Constitution. We are authorized by the Constitution to elect a Speaker. We are commanded by the law to elect a Speaker before we proceed to other business, and there is nothing in the Constitution to warrant us in electing a Speaker *pro tempore*.

At another time he was bitterly assailed, and one of his opponents charged him with having committed a crime if he had endorsed the obnoxious "Impending Crisis." Mr. Colfax's reply was such that the other side of the House was willing to let him alone. In the course of his reply he said:

I am in the habit of acknowledging my accountability, not to the gentlemen upon the other side of the House, but to my constituents. I am accountable to them for what sentiments I express here and elsewhere. I have heard gentlemen arise on the other side, and, after denouncing John Brown, declare that if the people of the United States, under the Constitution, should elect this or that citizen to the presidency, eligible though he might be under the Constitution, they would resist his inauguration by force; that they will not wait for any overt act, but that at once they will prevent the consummation of the people's election. I do not ask them to be responsible to me for the expression of such sentiments, nor will I use offensive language against that declaration which grates so strangely upon the ear when uttered upon the floor of the American Congress. I am accountable, I say to the gentleman from Mississippi, to my constituents, and not to him or anybody else; and I am not afraid to meet that constituency, to appear at that tribunal where I have so often met them before. If *they* receive my explanations, it must satisfy the gentlemen on the other side, who are in no way responsible for my presence in this House and who have no power to prevent me from occupying a seat here as the Representative of those who have honored me

with this trust. I yield the gentlemen on the opposite side of the House the same rights that I claim and insist on having for myself. In a subsequent stage of the session, when the House is organized, if Mr. Sherman or myself rises to speak and to express our dissent from any portion of the Helper Book, let me assure, gentlemen, it will not be done upon compulsion and demand, but voluntarily and because we deem it fit to do so.

It was during this session that Mr. Colfax won the approbation of the Washington Press Gallery by the defense he made of one of its members. By his strictures upon some of the Democratic members of the House the correspondent of the New York Herald had aroused resentment, and a resolution was introduced to expel him from the gallery. Mr. Colfax delivered an impassioned defense of a free press which delighted the correspondents and made them his lasting friends. In the course of his remarks he said:

I stand here, and I shall always stand here, as the defender of the freedom of the press in this country; and if gentlemen do not like the press to strike back, they should themselves withhold the blow which provokes it. I always regret to see gentlemen rising here with newspaper extracts in their hands, and basing upon them personal explanations, in which they employ language which, for the sake of harmony and concord and for the sake of keeping our record free from personalities, might as well be omitted. These differences and disputes had better be settled elsewhere. I do not allude to the code of honor, but outside of this House, in the courts, and not be brought here. Gentlemen who sit upon this side of the House have been attacked by the very paper to which the gentleman alludes in the severest and bitterest language of invective, but we do not complain.

After the House organization was effected by the election of Representative Pendleton, of New Jersey, Mr. Colfax was made Chairman of the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads. He favored a number of improvements in the service, notably as to the construction of post roads. He held it to be the duty of the general Government to provide roads so that those living in scattered settlements on the frontier could get their mails with reasonable promptness and regularity. He especially was insistent upon a more direct and speedy connection between the Atlantic and Pacific seacoasts. He was among the earliest, as well as among the most earnest, advocates of a trans-continental railroad. But just at that time the political horizon was so darkened that men's minds could not be brought into activity for such a venture.

The campaign of 1860 found Mr. Colfax abundant opportunities for the display of his qualities as a stump speaker. He was a warm, personal friend of Mr. Lincoln, his party's candidate for President, and was a firm believer and ardent advocate of the political principles advanced by that great man. He threw himself into the work of the campaign with all his customary ardor.

The last session of the Thirty-sixth Congress began its session a few weeks after the election of Mr. Lincoln. It was a very solemn

gathering. War, war between brothers, was looming darkly over the land. South Carolina withdrew from the Union, soon followed by other Southern States, and a new Government was organized. President Buchanan in his message called the attention of Congress to the serious conditions confronting the country, and expressed a hope that Congress would be able to enact such measures as would assure peace. It was not to be.

Again Mr. Colfax took up the matter of an overland mail to the Pacific. The committee sustained him in his efforts, and at last an overland system was put in operation, thus bringing the two extremes of the country into closer connection.

Mr. Colfax was again elected to Congress and took his seat in the Thirty-seventh, and was again made Chairman of the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads. The war was on, armies were in the field. Mr. Colfax devoted his energies in securing better mail service to the various armies. Among other things he secured an amendment to the postage rates permitting soldiers in the field to send mail home without the prepayment of postage.

He gave vigorous support to the administration in the prosecution of the war. One of the most eloquent speeches of his life—in fact, one of the most eloquent found in the pages of the Congressional Record—is the one he delivered on the death of Senator Baker, who fell at the head of his brigade in the battle of Ball's Bluff. It is too long for insertion in a sketch as short as this necessarily must be, but it is worthy a reading as a masterpiece of eulogistic speaking.

On the opening of the Thirty-eighth Congress Mr. Colfax was elected Speaker of the House. The war was still continuing its course, but the resistance of the South was evidently weakening and the signs of the times pointed a final and full triumph of the defenders of the Union. Vigorous measures were still needed on the part of Congress, and in his speech of acknowledgment of his selection as Speaker, Mr. Colfax called attention to the existing situation, and expressed his firm conviction the end was not far off.

There was one act of Speaker Colfax during this his first term of presiding over the House that awakened much criticism, and was a cause of regret on the part of his friends. Alexander Long, a Representative from Ohio, made a speech on the floor of the House in which he pronounced himself as being in favor of recognizing the independence of the States forming the Southern Confederacy. The next day Speaker Colfax called a member of the House to the chair, and, taking the floor, he offered a resolution reciting the speech of Mr. Long, and calling for his expulsion from the House. A long debate followed, resulting in the House administering the most severe rebuke to Mr. Long. It was thought by some of Mr. Colfax's friends that his act in

taking the floor for the purpose of introducing the resolution for expulsion was undignified. Of these criticisms Mr. Colfax said:

The gentlemen on the other side, every one, indeed, who have referred to it at all, have been kind enough to speak of my impartiality as the Presiding Officer of the House. I thank them for this testimonial, which I have endeavored to deserve. But at the same time most of them have expressed "regret" that I left the Speaker's chair and came down upon the floor of the House. I have, however, no regret; not even denunciations of the press, nor the strictures of members upon this floor, to which I have listened in respectful silence without interrupting them, have caused me a moment's regret. I did it in the performance of what seemed to me an imperative duty, from conscientious conviction, and from no personal unkindness toward the gentleman from Ohio. I have no personal unkindness toward him or any human being who lives upon the earth. And if it had been understood when, as a Representative from the Ninth Congressional District of Indiana, your kindness and confidence placed me in the Speaker's chair, I was to go there fettered and tongue-tied, and to leave the people of that district disfranchised, that for all time to come during this Congress I should not speak for my country, I should have thanked you for the election, but would have rejected and spurned the commission.

I stand upon this floor today by no condescension from that responsible position. No, sir, in that chair I am the servant of the House to administer its rules, but on the floor the equal of any other member—no more, no less. Duty is often unpleasant, sometimes distasteful and repulsive; but, sir, the man who will not fearlessly discharge his duty is not fit to be in public life.

At the close of his term as Speaker, the House, with practical unanimity, adopted a resolution highly commendatory of the conduct of Mr. Colfax in the chair. In fact, there have been but few men serving as Speaker of the House who equaled Mr. Colfax in his popularity with the members. This was only a few hours before Mr. Lincoln was to be inaugurated President for a second term. In response to the commendatory resolution, Mr. Colfax, after referring to the honor bestowed upon him in the election as Speaker and of his endeavor to be impartial in his rulings, said:

On this day, which by spontaneous consent is being observed wherever our flag floats as a day of national rejoicing with the roar of cannon greeting the rising sun on the rockbound coast of Maine, echoed and re-echoed by answering volleys from city to city, and from mountain peak to mountain peak, till from the Golden Gate it dies away far out on the calm Pacific, we mingle our congratulations with those of the freemen we represent over the victories for the Union that have made the winter just closing so warm with joy and hope. With them we rejoice that the national standard which our Revolutionary fathers unfurled over the land, but which rebellion sought to strike down and destroy, waves as undisputed at this glad hour over the cradle of secession as over the cradle of liberty at Faneuil Hall, and that the whole firmament is aflame with the brilliant glow of triumphs for the cause so dear to every patriot heart. . . . We turn, too, today, with a prouder joy than ever before, to that banner, brilliant with stars from the heavens and radiant with the glories from earth. . . . But in this hour of gladness I cannot forget the obligations, paramount and undying, we owe to our heroic defenders on every battlefield upon the land, and every wave-rocked monitor and frigate upon the sea. Inspired by the sublimest spirit of self-sacrifice, they have realized

a million-fold the historic fable of Curtius, as they have offered to close up, with their own bodies, if need be, the yawning chasm that imperiled the Republic. . . .

Rejoicing over the bow of promise we already see arching the storm cloud of war, giving assurance that no deluge of secession shall again overwhelm our nation, we can join, with heart and soul, sincerely and trustingly, in the poet's prayer:

"Now, Father, lay thy healing hand
In mercy on our stricken land;
Lead all its wanderers to the fold,
And be their Shepherd, as of old.

"So shall our nation's song ascend
To Thee, our Ruler, Father, Friend;
While heaven's wide arch resounds again
With 'Peace on earth, good will to men.'"

We go hence, with our official labors ended, to the Senate Chamber and the portico of the Capitol, there, with the statue of the goddess of Liberty looking down for the first time from her lofty pedestal on such a scene, to witness and participate in the inauguration of the Elect of the American people.

The assassination of President Lincoln soon followed his inauguration. Mr. Colfax was returned a member of the Thirty-ninth Congress, and was again elected Speaker. An onerous task lay before that Congress. The war was over, but reconstruction of the lately seceding States was to be solved. The assassination of President Lincoln had aroused a most bitter feeling in the North and severe measures were demanded, the radical element demanding the punishment of those who had been the leaders in the movement to disrupt the Union. The sessions of the Thirty-ninth Congress are among the most notable in our political history. The Southern States were to be reconstructed, the colored race so lately changed from slavery to freedmen was to be protected from unjust or oppressive laws enacted by State legislatures, and then came the break between Congress and the President, which brought about the enactment of the Tenure of Office Law.

The sessions of the House were often stormy, and it took all the tact and firmness of the Speaker to maintain even a semblance of order. There was, probably, no man in that Congress other than Mr. Colfax who could have maintained order and enabled the House to transact the business before it. He was firm, yet conciliatory; just and impartial in his rulings, and retained his great popularity with the members, even with those of the opposing party.

In 1866 he was elected a member of the House for the seventh time, and when the House met received his third election as Speaker. It was during this term as Speaker the attempt was made to impeach the President. It fell to the lot of Mr. Colfax to appoint the committee that was to prepare the articles of impeachment.

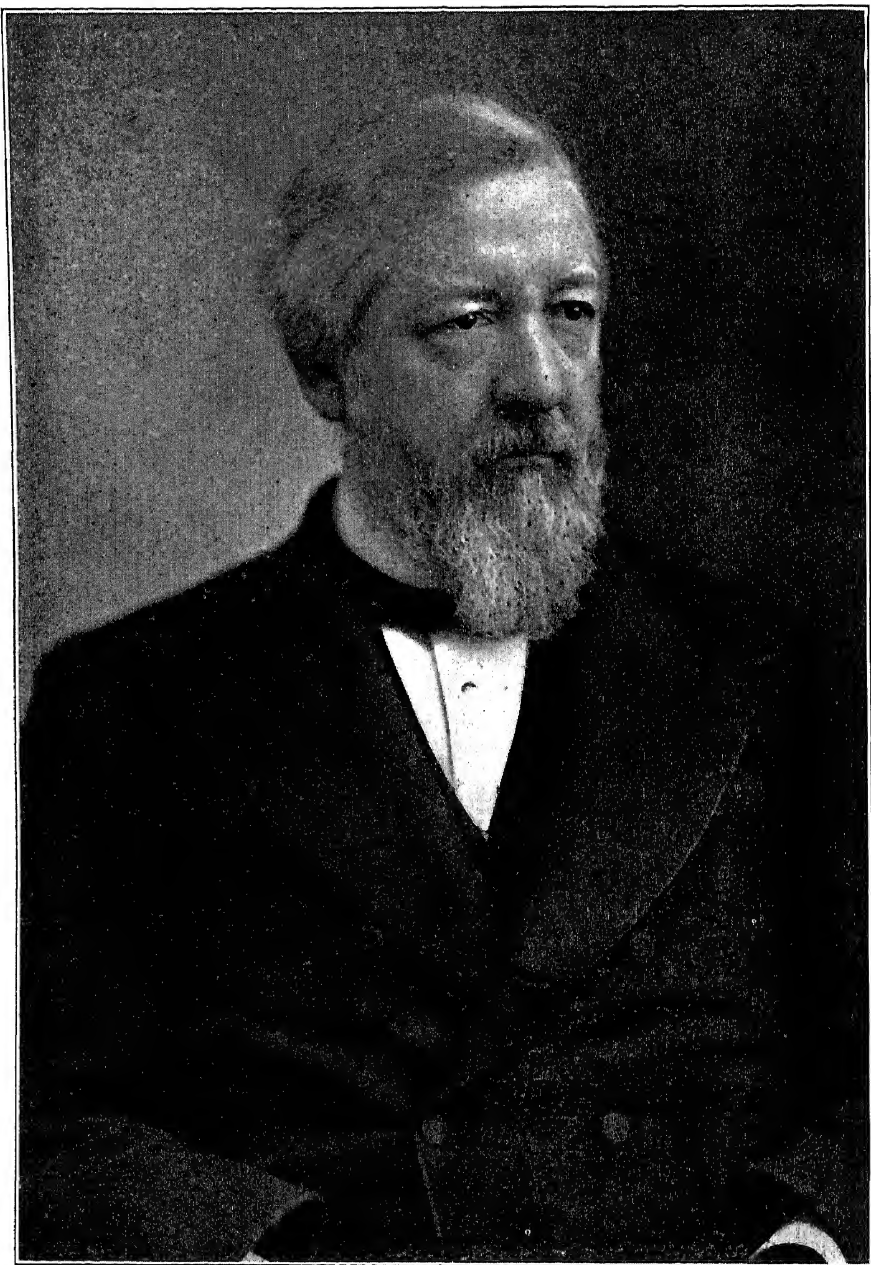
Mr. Blaine, in his "Twenty Years in Congress," thus speaks of Mr. Colfax's speech at the opening of the session: "The address of the

Speaker on taking the chair is usually confined to thanks for his election and courteous assurance of his impartiality and good intentions. But Mr. Colfax, instinctively quick, as he always was, to discern the current of popular thought, incorporated in his ceremonial address some very decisive political declarations. Referring to the fact that the Thirty-eighth Congress had closed nine months before, with the 'storm cloud of war still lowering over us,' and rejoicing that 'today from shore to shore of our land there is peace,' he proceeded to indicate the line of policy which the people expected. 'The duties of Congress,' said he, 'are as obvious as the sun's pathway in the heavens. Its first and highest obligation is to guarantee to every State a republican form of government, to establish the rebellious States anew on such basis of enduring justice as will guarantee all safeguards to the people and protection to all men in their inalienable rights.' . . . In this great work the world should witness the most inflexible fidelity, the most earnest devotion to the principles of liberty and humanity, the truest patriotism and the wisest statesmanship."

As the time approached for the parties to select their national ticket there was but one voice among the Republicans as to who should head their ticket, but there was some division of thought as to the second place. In this Mr. Colfax was easily the leader. His six years as Speaker of the House had increased his popularity and his standing as a national figure. On this Mr. Blaine in his valuable contribution to political history, "Twenty Years in Congress," says: "The friends of Mr. Colfax relied less on thorough organization and systematic work than upon the common judgment that he would be a fit and available candidate. He was then at the height of his successful career. He was in the third term of his Speakership, and had acquitted himself in that exacting place with ability and credit. Genial and cordial, with unflinching tact and aptitude, skilful in cultivating friendships and never provoking enmities, he had, in a rare degree, the elements that insure popularity."

Mr. Colfax was nominated for Vice-President with Mr. Grant, and he stepped from the presiding chair in the House to that in the Senate, the only case of its kind in our history. He presided over the deliberations of the Senate for four years with the same urbanity and tactfulness that had distinguished him as Speaker of the House. During his term as Vice-President his name, with a number of others, became involved in the Credit Mobilier scandal, but no reliable evidence was ever presented that he had ever held any of the bonds or stock of that concern. He was not renominated in 1872, and at the end of his four years retired to private life.

After surrendering the office of Vice-President, Mr. Colfax gave most of his time until his death in delivering his lecture on President Lincoln. As a lecturer he was exceedingly popular. His death partook



JAMES G. BLAINE, Maine
Forty-first, Forty-second and Forty-third Congresses

of the tragic. He left his home to go to Mankato, Minn., to deliver his Lincoln lecture. He was then seemingly in the best of health, with a long life before him. On his way he passed through Indianapolis, and was there greeted by his many friends. To them he spoke freely of his intentions for the future, even going so far as to discuss making that city his permanent home. Arriving at Mankato, he stepped from the car to the platform of the station and dropped dead.

Mr. Colfax was a prominent member of the Independent Order of Odd Fellows, and was the originator and organizer of the Order of Rebecca, connected with that organization.

JAMES GILLESPIE BLAINE

JAMES GILLESPIE BLAINE—Speaker of the House of Representatives in the Forty-first, Forty-second, and Forty-third Congresses. Born in West Brownsville, Washington County, Pennsylvania, January 31, 1830. Son of Ephriam Lyon and Maria Louisa (Gillespie) Blaine. Educated in Washington College, Pennsylvania. Married Miss Harriet Stanwood, June 30, 1850. Died in Washington City, January 27, 1893.

For nearly a third of a century James Gillespie Blaine was a distinguished statesman and party leader. In the strong sense of the term he could not be called a great political leader, for, during his entire public career, he did not originate or formulate any great scheme of political policies. He was a party leader of almost unequaled influence and skill. As a debater of political questions, either in the halls of Congress or on the stump, he had few rivals during his period of leadership.

His ancestors both on his father's and his mother's side came to this country from Ireland. One of his ancestors served the country in several military and civic capacities. He was a soldier during the war for independence, and later held several offices in the civil administration. His mother was a devout member of the Roman Catholic Church, but young James was brought up in the Presbyterian faith.

James made his preparation for college in the home of Thomas Ewing, a relative by marriage, at the Ewing homestead in Lancaster, Ohio. Mr. Ewing was one of the great lawyers of the country, and had a distinguished political career. It may be that it was at the home of Mr. Ewing young Blaine was fired with the political ambition that characterized his after-life, a laudable and worthy ambition. His tutor in Lancaster was a Mr. Lyons, an uncle of that Lord Lyons who was British Minister to Washington during the administration of President Lincoln. James entered Washington College at the age of thirteen and was graduated four years later. In college he was re-

garded by the faculty and by his fellow students as one possessing great talents.

He adopted teaching as his profession, and an opening in Kentucky presenting itself he removed to that State. It was said that James did not leave on his classmates an impression that he was destined to a great career in political life, but rather that his talents led in another direction. He was a bright scholar and a close and industrious student, and his classmates expected for him a high career as a teacher.

In Kentucky he selected Lexington, the home of the great Henry Clay, as the place of his location, and made that city his headquarters until he found occupation as a teacher. At Georgetown, some twelve miles from Lexington, was the Western Military Institute. Hearing that the Institute was in need of a teacher, he at once applied for the place. He was accepted and in January, 1848, he became teacher of Latin, Greek, and elementary geometry in the Institute. He was only eighteen years of age, a rather youthful period to hold such a position in an Institute of that high class, but he soon won a reputation as a thorough instructor, and became very popular with the faculty and with the students. He ever had a way of making friends. He remained at the Institute for four years, and then returned to Pennsylvania, making his home in Philadelphia, where for two years he taught the higher branches in the Pennsylvania Institute for the Blind. While thus engaged he studied law, but the practice of that science was not to be his life work.

He had some business connections in Maine, and on one of his periodical visits to that State it was suggested to him to purchase a controlling interest in the Kennebec Journal, a prosperous and influential paper. After some consideration the purchase was made and Mr. Blaine became an editor. In this position he displayed versatility and strength as a writer, especially upon political subjects. The position of editor was one suited to his talents and his disposition. It brought him into contact with the leading politicians of the State, and opened wide the doors to future advancement. He devoted himself to a study of the political situation in Maine. Stirring national questions were engaging the public mind at that time. Opposition to the institution of slavery was rapidly growing throughout the North.

Old political associations were dissolving and new ones being formed. The Whig party had practically gone to pieces after its defeat in 1852, and the new Republican party was beginning to function. Several important national questions were dividing the people into new political alignments, but that of slavery was the absorbing one.

All the old great leaders, Clay, Webster, Calhoun, and their aides were dead. It was a time for new leaders to make themselves felt, a time for new thoughts, a time for new associations. It was a time when virile newspaper writing was in demand, and a time when it was

to reap its highest reward in influence. Mr. Blaine soon established his right to a high place among newspaper writers. In those days the editorial chair was the stepping stone into political life. So it was with Mr. Blaine. In 1856 he was chosen as one of the delegates from Maine to the national convention of the newly organized Republican party. It was the convention which nominated Colonel John C. Fremont as its candidate for the presidency. The nomination being made and the platform adopted, Mr. Blaine returned to Maine to begin a most vigorous campaign for the ticket. He did not confine his activities to his editorial writings alone, but took an active part in the speaking campaign, where he soon proved himself to be a speaker of much more than ordinary ability. His editorials were strong and pungent, many of them being written during resting spells as he traveled over the State.

Before the campaign closed Mr. Blaine had established himself as one of the leaders of the new party in the Pine Tree State. His acquaintance had been extended and his influence widened. This was displayed by the fact that before he had completed a residence of four years in the State he was elected a member of the Legislature. This was in 1858, and may be called the beginning of his public career. Four times he was elected to the State Legislature, and each time without a contest for the nomination. At the beginning of his third term he was elected Speaker of the House. His suave manners and his strict impartiality made him exceedingly popular as a presiding officer.

His abilities soon placed him at the head of his party in the State, and he became a national figure in politics before he was sent to Washington as a member of the House of Representatives. So strong was he with his party in Maine that he practically dictated the ticket for State offices, and the platform upon which they were to stand. Governor Kent, one of the greatest of Maine's public men, said of him: "Almost from the day of his assuming editorial charge of the *Kennebec Journal*, at the early age of twenty-three, Mr. Blaine sprang into a position of great influence in the politics and policies of Maine. At twenty-five he was a leading power in the councils of the Republican party, so recognized by Fessenden, Hamlin, and the two Morrills, and others then prominent in the State. Before he was twenty-nine he was chosen chairman of the Executive Committee of the Republican organization in Maine—a position from which he practically shaped and directed every political campaign in the State, always leading his party to brilliant victory."

When the war between the States came Mr. Blaine threw himself into the task of aiding the Government with all the energy he possessed. In 1862 he was the candidate of the Republican party in his district for Congress. He was successful at the polls and was five times renominated and reelected. It may be said here that he was

never defeated before the people of Maine for any office. He took his seat in the Thirty-eighth Congress as a member of the House of Representatives, and very soon became one of the leaders of his party, both in formulating policies and in debate.

The Civil War was raging at the time he took his seat in the House; the administration of Mr. Lincoln had to frequently struggle to secure the passage of legislation he deemed prudent and necessary, members of his own party placing themselves oftentimes in direct opposition. Mr. Blaine was never in that class. He stood by the administration with all the powers he possessed.

It would be impossible in such a brief sketch as this must be to follow him in anything like detail through his long career in the House. He served on a number of important committees and took part in nearly all the leading debates. He had in Congress the same genial nature that had made him popular when a student in college, and when he was a member of the Maine Legislature. He had one or two notable quarrels, however, the most important and the one best known to the reading public was that with Mr. Conkling, then a member of the House, representing a New York district. It was small in its beginning, but it lasted during the lives of the two most interested. And it may have been one of the factors which prevented Mr. Blaine from reaching the presidency.

He favored the establishment of the National Bank system, but earnestly sought to amend the provision permitting the banks to charge seven per cent. interest on loans. In this he antagonized Thad. Stevens, who at that time was the actual and potential ruler of the House. In the second session of that Congress he had a second tilt with Mr. Stevens. That distinguished Representative introduced a bill punishing parties who made contracts payable in gold. It was an attempt to place gold and the new paper money on a parity in all business transactions. The first effect of the introduction of the bill was to send the premium on gold to a much higher rate than it had been before.

On its introduction the bill was sent to the Committee on Ways and Means. The next morning Mr. Blaine made a motion to recall the bill from the Committee. The motion was bitterly fought by Stevens, but Mr. Blaine was successful, securing a return of the bill to the House. As soon as the motion to recall was agreed to, Mr. Blaine moved to lay the bill on the table. In that he was also successful. By thus killing the bill he steadied the gold situation, to the great benefit of business.

It was in the Thirty-ninth Congress the famous quarrel with Mr. Conkling occurred. It was a needless quarrel, and while Mr. Blaine came out first best so far as the war of words was concerned, it never ceased to trouble him in his after political life. The bitter feeling it engendered led Mr. Conkling to believe that it was through the influ-

ence of Mr. Blaine, then Secretary of State, that he was thwarted in the matter of certain appointments in New York, which led to the resignation by Mr. Conkling of his senatorial seat.

The start of it was in an amendment offered by Mr. Conkling to the army bill. The amendment provided for the abolition of the office of Provost Marshal General. It was in itself a very proper amendment, as the war having ended there was no real need for such an officer. But it was charged against Mr. Conkling that his motive was to punish the officer then holding that office for refusing certain favors to the Congressman. Mr. Blaine took this view, and in his remarks was harsh and bitter in his comments on the attitude of the New York Representative. Mr. Conkling was himself a master of sarcasm, and was by no means of a placable disposition. He retorted in kind, and the battle of words was waged for several days. Mr. Conkling never forgave Blaine's remark about the "turkey-trot strut" of the New Yorker. The after result of the quarrel was deplorable especially from a party standpoint. While not bolting the nomination of Mr. Blaine in 1884 Mr. Conkling did not take the active part in the campaign in New York that might have resulted in carrying that State for the Republican ticket and in making Mr. Blaine President instead of Mr. Cleveland.

It was during the session of the Thirty-ninth Congress that the contest began between Congress and President Johnson. It was over the reconstruction of the Southern States. The President had taken the whole matter of reconstruction in his own hands. President Johnson was one of those unfortunate men in public life who do everything in an extreme manner. When he first took the office made vacant by the assassination of President Lincoln, he gave utterance to the most vengeful feeling toward the Southern States so lately in insurrection, denouncing those who had taken part in the insurrection in the most bitter way. By so doing he had increased the bitter feeling already existing in the North, and alarmed the people of the South.

Suddenly his attitude changed and he favored the immediate political restoration of the States without any guaranties as to the future, especially as to the condition of a race just emerging from a state of slavery. This attitude aroused the North and brought about a bitter strife in Congress, much to the injury of the South, for his extreme leniency operated to cause Congress to err in the opposite direction.

Mr. Stevens took the position that the States had taken themselves out of the Union, that their citizens were alien enemies who had been conquered, and that the States could regain a position in the Union only by their readmission as foreign territory. This was an extreme view, and one directly contrary to that held by the late President Lincoln, who had consistently declared that the States had never been out of the Union. Extreme as was this position of Mr. Stevens it found

supporters among the Republicans, a number siding with him, and by numberless newspapers.

To this view Mr. Blaine never gave his consent. He was strenuous in opposing the policy of President Johnson, and insisted on effective guaranties against any attempt in the future to disrupt the Union, on a plea of "States' Rights." He also insisted upon guaranties that the colored race should receive ample protection under the laws. He opposed any measure which imposed conditions on the rehabilitated States which did not hold out hope that they would be welcomed back into the Union when the proper guaranties had been given.

While the question of reconstruction was before the House he spoke almost daily on some feature of the measure. It was well known that no State of the South would voluntarily bestow the right of suffrage on the colored race. Yet, under the constitution as it stood their representation in the House of Representatives and in the Electoral College would be largely increased, and increased to the disadvantage of the Northern States. This was a serious problem before Congress.

When the Fourteenth Amendment was under discussion it was Mr. Blaine who proposed the amendment that the basis for representation in Congress and in the Electoral College should be the total population, but diminished proportionately should the elective franchise be denied any class of citizens. The amendment was finally adopted by Congress after a long and stormy debate, but it is now, as it always has been, ineffective.

The controversy between the President and Congress over the reconstruction of the Southern States brought about an effort to impeach the President. Mr. Blaine did not approve of the movement, but yielded to his party associates. His objection was more on the ground of policy than in active belief that the President had not been guilty of impeachable offenses. It is needless here to recount the story of the impeachment and trial of the President. It failed.

During this long struggle between the President and Congress Mr. Blaine was growing in favor with his party throughout the country. He took a prominent part in all the debates in the House, and aided his party by his voice on the rostrum and by his editorial pen during each recurring campaign.

On the assembling of the Forty-first Congress, March 4, 1869, Mr. Blaine was elected Speaker of the House by a vote of 135 against 47 for Michael C. Kerr. At that time Mr. Blaine was one of the most popular men in Congress. His services on the stump during the first Grant campaign, and his thorough knowledge of parliamentary laws and usage made him the logical candidate of his party for Speaker. He was then serving his third term as a member of the House. His career had been a series of successes since his entry into public life.

His position as Speaker gave him a commanding position politically, and his friends began to talk of him as being of presidential size. General Grant was just beginning his first term as President. The animosities of the war had not entirely passed away, and there was much to do before the Southern States were brought into their full place in the Union, but General Grant's epigrammatic phrase, "Let us have peace," had poured oil on the troubled waters and a better feeling prevailed.

In addition to what was needed to be done for the final and complete restoration of the Union grave financial problems were to be solved. The condition of the ex-slaves in the Southern States was deplorable, and demanded some action on the part of Congress. Then, too, some grave complications with foreign countries existed.

In both Houses of Congress the Republicans held an overwhelming majority, and there was still a disposition on the part of the more radical element in the party to deal harshly with the States that had formed the Southern Confederacy. Mr. Blaine was never a radical in that direction. He earnestly desired a speedy and complete restoration of the Union, but wanted it accomplished with full guaranties for the colored people.

Mr. Blaine was twice reelected Speaker, serving in the Forty-second and Forty-third Congresses. At the close of his third term he addressed the House as follows:

I close with this hour six years of service as Speaker of the House of Representatives—a period surpassed in length but by two of my predecessors, and equaled only by two others. The rapid mutations of personal and political fortunes in this country have limited the great majority of those who have sat in this chair to shorter terms of office.

It would be the gravest insensibility to the honors and responsibilities of life not to be deeply touched by so signal a mark of public esteem as that which I have thrice received at the hands of my political associates. I desire in this last moment to renew to them, one and all, my thanks and my gratitude.

To those from whom I differ in my party relations—the minority in this House—I tender my acknowledgments for the generous courtesy with which they have treated me. By one of those sudden and decisive changes which distinguish popular institutions and which conspicuously mark a free people, that minority is transformed in the ensuing Congress to the governing power of the House. However it might possibly have been under other circumstances, that event necessarily renders these words my farewell to the chair.

The Speakership of the House of Representatives is a post of honor, of dignity, of responsibility. Its duties are at once complex and continuous; they are both onerous and delicate; they are performed in the broad light of day under the eye of the whole people, subject at all times to the closest observation, and always attended with the sharpest criticism. I think no other official is held to such rigid accountability. Parliamentary rulings in their nature are peremptory, almost absolute in authority and instantaneous in effect. They cannot always be enforced in such a way as to win applause or secure popularity, but I am sure that no man of any party who is worthy to fill this chair will ever see a dividing line between duty and policy.

Thanking you once more, and thanking you most cordially for the honorable testimonial you have placed on record to my credit, I perform my only remaining duty in declaring that the Forty-third Congress has reached its constitutional limit, and that the House of Representatives stands adjourned without delay.

The universal testimony was that Mr. Blaine had been a most admirable presiding officer. It is also due him to say that he always favored economy in the administration of the Government. It was during his Speakership that what is historically known as the "Salary Grab" was enacted. It provided for an increase in the compensation of members of Congress and others, the increase as to members of Congress dating back to the beginning of that Congress. Mr. Blaine refused to accept the increase provided for him.

In 1874 a political tidal wave swept over the country, and the Republican majority in the House was overturned. Mr. Blaine was one of the fortunate of his party and was successfully reelected as a member, but the Speaker's chair went to one of the majority party. His prestige as Speaker during three terms had made him a national figure, and in the new Congress he added largely to his reputation as a ready and effective debater. He was the party leader in the House. Just at that time there was considerable agitation regarding religious instruction in the public schools. Mr. Blaine attempted to secure an amendment to the Constitution declaring that no State should make any law respecting the establishment of religion, or forbidding the free exercise thereof; and that no money raised by taxation in any State for the support of public schools, or derived from any fund therefor, nor any public lands devoted thereto, should ever be under the control of any religious sect, nor should any money so raised, or lands so devoted, be divided between religious sects or denominations.

This proposition he supported with all his zeal, but he failed in securing its approval by the House. Since that time there has been a number of attempts by States to regulate teaching in the public schools so far as the Bible is concerned, and of late the agitation has become quite acute. Mr. Blaine's proposed amendment would not have shut out the teaching of the Bible, but would have barred the teaching of the tenets of any sect.

It was during the Forty-third Congress that serious charges were made in some of the newspapers and on the floor of Congress against Mr. Blaine's integrity. The Credit Mobilier scandal was agitating the whole country. Mr. Blaine demanded the fullest investigation so far as he was concerned. The Forty-fourth Congress assembled on the 6th of December, 1875. The Democrats held a majority in the House and Michael C. Kerr was elected Speaker by a vote of 173 against 106 for Mr. Blaine.

It was during the first session of that Congress the great parliamentary fight occurred over a movement by the Democratic majority

to remove the disabilities to hold office imposed by the Fourteenth Amendment. When the resolution was presented Mr. Blaine offered an amendment which would exclude Jeff. Davis from the benefits of the amnesty proposed. He supported his amendment in an elaborate speech. It was the most scathing and bitter denunciation delivered during his whole public career. The speech was so bitter that it brought out severe rebuke from several of the leaders of the House. It was, however, the death blow to the proposed universal amnesty.

During the time he was serving as Speaker several charges were made involving his integrity as a public servant. Among the charges was one connecting him with the Credit Mobilier scandal heretofore mentioned. Smarting under the insinuations which had been made, Mr. Blaine called Representative S. S. Cox, one of the leaders of the Democrats, to the Chair, and took the floor in his own defense, and presented a resolution providing for the appointment of a committee to investigate the charges made against him. After a most thorough and searching investigation the committee declared the charges, so far as Mr. Blaine was concerned, were without the shadow of a foundation.

Very few of the men who from time to time have been active in political affairs in this country have entirely escaped detractions of some sort by those who were politically opposed to them. Even the great and good Father of his Country, the revered Washington, was most bitterly assailed during the eight years of his presidency. It was scarcely to be hoped that one so brilliant and so active in all political affairs of his time as Mr. Blaine should wholly escape. The committee investigating the Credit Mobilier scandal had completely exonerated him, but worse was to come. His political foes were many, and they let no opportunity pass unimproved to attack him.

John C. Harrison, one of the Government's directors of the Union Pacific Railroad Company, made public a statement that among the papers of that company had been found a number of the bonds of the Little Rock and Fort Smith Railroad, a defunct and bankrupt concern; that the bonds had once belonged to Mr. Blaine and had been sold by him to the Union Pacific Company at a high price, at a time when the latter company knew the issuer of the bonds was bankrupt and the bonds wholly worthless. It was a serious charge, as both the Union Pacific and the Little Rock roads were objects of the bounty of the Government and subject to legislation by Congress.

As soon as the charge was made public Mr. Blaine obtained letters from the several officers of the Union Pacific who had knowledge of the purchase of the bonds, declaring in the most positive manner that Mr. Blaine had never had any interest direct or remote with the bonds in question, and had never benefitted by them in the least degree. Mr. Blaine had at one time been engaged in the sale of some of the bonds and stock of the Little Rock Road. He had disposed of the bonds and

stock to some of his friends. They were purchased and paid for at the current rates, and Mr. Blaine had made good to them the losses they had incurred by the purchase.

The House Committee on the Judiciary was authorized to make a thorough investigation. A man by the name of Fisher and another named Mulligan were deeply interested in the pursuit of Mr. Blaine. Blaine and Fisher at one time had had some business relations, and Fisher held a number of confidential and private letters of Mr. Blaine. The man Mulligan was an open and avowed enemy of Mr. Blaine. By some means he had come into possession of some of the letters written by Mr. Blaine to Fisher. These he threatened to make public.

Mr. Blaine's friends claimed that from the very beginning of the investigation by the Committee on the Judiciary it was evident the investigation was to be solely of Mr. Blaine, although his name had not been mentioned in the resolution authorizing the investigation. Mr. Blaine was himself a witness before the committee, and made oath that he had never in any way had any interest in the bonds, or in their sale to the Union Pacific, and this statement he backed by a number of letters from the officers of the company. Some of the directors of the company were also before the committee and testified to the same fact.

Mulligan was in Washington, and it was currently reported intended to present to the committee the confidential letters of Fisher. Mr. Blaine called upon him at his hotel, and through some means obtained the letters. The committee demanded possession of them, which was refused by Mr. Blaine. He did submit them to two distinguished lawyers, one a Democrat and one a Republican. After a thorough examination both those distinguished men made a statement that there was nothing in the letters relevant to the matter under investigation by the committee. Mr. Blaine, however, determined to make the letters public, and this he intended to do in a dramatic manner, by reading them to the House of Representatives. In the course of his remarks Mr. Blaine said:

Would any gentleman stand up here and tell me that he is willing and ready to have his private correspondence scanned over and made public for the last eight or ten years? Does it imply guilt? Does it imply wrong-doing? Does it imply any sense of weakness that a man will protect his private correspondence? No, sir; it is the first instinct to do it, and it is the last outrage upon any man to violate it. I am not afraid to show the letters. Thank God Almighty, I am not ashamed to show them. There they are. There is the very original package. And with some sense of humiliation, with a mortification I do not pretend to conceal, with a sense of outrage which I think any man in my position would feel, I invite the confidence of 40,000,000 of my countrymen while I read these letters at this desk.

There was another very dramatic scene before the day was over, one in which Mr. Blaine certainly came out victorious, putting to con-

fusion some of his political foes. A certain Josiah Caldwell knew all the circumstances of the purchase of the bonds in question. He was absent from the country, and the committee had been requested to send him a cable asking for his evidence. This was done by the committee, and a reply from him had been received, the reply completely exonerating Mr. Blaine. For some reason the fact that this reply had been received had been concealed by the committee. Mr. Blaine obtained from some source a knowledge of the cable from Mr. Caldwell, and that it had been suppressed. In an open session of the House he asked Representative Knott, of Kentucky, chairman of the committee, if he had cabled Mr. Caldwell, as he had been requested to do, and if any reply had been received, when the following colloquy occurred, after Mr. Knott had made a statement that he and Judge Hunton, another member of the committee, had both endeavored to secure Mr. Caldwell's address in London, and had failed:

Mr. Blaine. Has the gentleman from Kentucky received a dispatch from Caldwell?

Mr. Knott. I will explain that directly.

Mr. Blaine. I want a categorical answer.

Mr. Knott. I have received a dispatch purporting to be from Mr. Caldwell.

Mr. Blaine. You did?

Mr. Knott. How did you know I got it?

Mr. Blaine. When did you get it? I want the gentleman from Kentucky to answer when he got it.

Mr. Knott. Answer my question first.

Mr. Blaine. I never heard of it until yesterday.

Mr. Knott. How did you hear it?

Mr. Blaine. I heard you got a dispatch last Thursday morning at eight o'clock from Josiah Caldwell, completely and absolutely exonerating me from this charge, and you have suppressed it. I want the gentleman to answer. Does the gentleman from Kentucky decline to answer?

At this stage great applause broke out on the floor of the House and in the galleries. For some minutes the Speaker tried in vain to restore order. When order was restored, Mr. Blaine continued: "The gentleman from Kentucky in responding probably, I think, from what he said, intended to convey the idea that I had some illegitimate knowledge of how the dispatch was obtained. I have had no communication with Josiah Caldwell. I have no means of knowing from the telegraph office whether the dispatch was received. But I tell the gentleman from Kentucky that murder will out, and secrets will leak. And I tell the gentleman now, and I am prepared to state to this House, that at eight o'clock on last Thursday morning, or thereabouts, the gentleman from Kentucky received and receipted for a message addressed to him from

Josiah Caldwell, in London, entirely corroborating and substantiating the statements of Thomas A. Scott which he had just read in the New York papers, and entirely exculpating me from the charge which I am bound to believe, from the suppression of that report, that the gentleman is anxious to fasten upon me."

Again the House and galleries broke forth in a storm of applause. Mr. Blaine was not yet satisfied. He moved to a space in front of the clerk's desk and denounced Representative Knott in the most scathing terms. Men of all parties and of all shades of opinion agreed that Mr. Blaine's vindication was complete.

This is the incident referred to by Colonel Ingersoll in his famous speech at the Republican convention at Cincinnati in 1876, when he styled Mr. Blaine a "Plumed Knight."

Mr. Blaine was an active candidate for the Republican nomination for President in 1876. There was some talk of nominating President Grant for a third term, but the talk had been negatived by General Grant himself. A number of names were under consideration, the more prominent ones being Senator Oliver P. Morton, Benjamin Bristow, of Kentucky, Governor Hartranft, of Pennsylvania, and Governor Hayes, of Ohio. Senator Morton had been the great war Governor of Indiana and was then the undisputed leader of his party in the United States Senate; Mr. Bristow was Secretary of the Treasury under President Grant. The name of Senator Conkling was also discussed. The convention was held in Cincinnati.

Col. Robert G. Ingersoll, then the most noted orator in America, was selected to place the name of Mr. Blaine before the Republican convention. His speech on that occasion is still regarded as a political classic. It has never been surpassed, and equaled only by that of Senator Conkling, when he nominated General Grant in 1880. The extracts given will show the power of the speech of Colonel Ingersoll. He said:

The Republicans of the United States demand as their leader in the great contest of 1876 a man of intellect, a man of integrity, a man of well-known and approved political opinions. They demand a statesman. They demand a reformer after as well as before the election. They demand a politician in the highest and broadest and best sense of that word. They demand a man acquainted with public affairs, with the wants of the people, with not only the requirements of the hour, but the demands of the future. They demand a man broad enough to comprehend the relations of this Government to the nations of the earth. They demand a man well versed in the powers, duties, and prerogatives of each and every department of this Government. They demand a man who will sacredly preserve the financial honor of the United States—one who knows enough to know that the national debt must be paid through the prosperity of the people. One who knows enough to know that all the financial theories in the world cannot redeem a single dollar. One who knows enough to know that all money must be made not by hand, but by labor. One who knows that the people of the United States have the industry to make the money and the honesty to pay it over just as fast as they make it. The Republicans of the United States demand a man who knows that prosperity and resumption when they come must come together. When they come they will come

hand in hand through the golden harvest fields; hand in hand by the whirling spindles and the turning wheels; hand in hand by the open furnace doors; hand in hand by the flaming forges; hand in hand by the chimneys filled with eager fire by the countless sons of toil. This money has got to be dug out of the earth. You cannot make it by passing resolutions at a political meeting. The Republicans of the United States want a man who knows that this Government should protect every citizen at home and abroad; who knows that every government that will not defend its defenders and will not protect its protectors is a disgrace to the mass of the world. They demand a man who believes in the eternal separation of church and the schools. They demand a man whose political reputation is spotless as a star, but they do not demand that their candidate shall have a certificate of moral character signed by a Confederate Congress. The man who has in full habit and rounded measure all of these special qualifications is the present grand and gallant leader of the Republican party, James G. Blaine. Our country, crowned with the vast and marvelous achievements of its first century, asks for a man worthy of its past, prophetic of its future—asks for a man who has the audacity of genius—asks for a man who is the grandest combination of heart, conscience, and brains beneath the flag. That man is James G. Blaine. For the Republican host, led by that intrepid man, there can be no defeat. This is a grand year—a year filled with the recollections of the Revolution; filled with proud and tender memories of the sacred past; filled with the legends of liberty; a year in which the sons of Freedom will drink from the fountains of enthusiasm; a year in which the people call for a man who has preserved in Congress what our soldiers won upon the field; a year in which we call for the man that has torn from the throat of treason the tongue of slander; a man that has snatched the mask of democracy from the hideous face of rebellion; a man who, like an intellectual athlete, stood in the arena of debate, challenged all comers, and who up to this moment is a total stranger to defeat. Like an armed warrior, like a plumed knight, James G. Blaine marched down the halls of the American Congress and threw his shining lance full and fair against the brazen forehead of every defamer of his country and maligner of his honor. For the Republican party to desert that gallant man now is worse than if an army should desert their General on the field of battle. James G. Blaine is now, and has been for years, the bearer of the sacred standard of the Republic. I call it sacred because no human being can stand beneath its folds without becoming and without remaining free.

Mr. Blaine was easily the leading candidate, but he had incurred the displeasure of a number of Republicans, and they gathered around Secretary Bristow. Three days before the convention was to meet Mr. Blaine, while on his way to church, was prostrated by a sunstroke, and for a time it was feared it would be fatal. His opponents in the convention seized upon this situation, and urged it as a reason for not nominating him, as it was regarded as a serious collapse of his physical powers that would make him unable to stand the strain of a heated campaign. Notwithstanding this Mr. Blaine led on the first six ballots. His opponents on the seventh ballot rallied to Governor Hayes and he received the nomination.

Mr. Bristow resigned as Secretary of the Treasury and the place was given to Senator Lot M. Morrill. This made a vacancy in the United States Senate to which Mr. Blaine was promptly appointed by the Governor. When the Legislature of Maine met Mr. Blaine was

elected to complete the unexpired term of Mr. Morrill and for the succeeding full term, receiving the votes of Republicans and Democrats alike.

In the Senate Mr. Blaine was ardent in his efforts to enlarge our trade with the Spanish-American Republics. He urged the establishment of subsidized lines of steamships to South America, to Brazil particularly. He also became much interested in the movement against Chinese immigration, a movement then agitating the Pacific States. He did not make any set speeches in the Senate, but was active in interjecting short and pungent remarks in the speeches made by other Senators. In 1880 he was again a candidate for the presidential nomination. It early became known that a determined effort would be made at the convention to give the nomination to General Grant. When the convention met in Chicago the excitement was intense throughout the country.

Although a number of gentlemen were voted for in the convention, it was seen the race would be between General Grant and Mr. Blaine. The balloting continued day after day, with but little change until the thirty-fifth vote was taken. Through all the balloting one or two votes had been cast for General Garfield, of Ohio, and at one time his vote had reached seventeen. On the thirty-fifth ballot it suddenly jumped to two hundred and fifty. For some time before that it became evident that neither General Grant nor Mr. Blaine could be nominated and the convention began hunting around for an available candidate. The jump of General Garfield displayed which way the tide was setting, and on the next ballot he was named.

The campaign that followed was a most exciting one, General Grant, himself, taking part in it. The Democrats put out as their ticket General Hancock and W. H. English, of Indiana. Until November the country was alive with speech-making, such as had not been witnessed since the memorable campaign of 1860. Mr. Blaine took an active part, visiting several States. The result was the election of General Garfield.

The election was hardly over before the eyes of the Republicans in all sections turned toward Mr. Blaine as the one man of his party in the country to be placed at the head of the Department of State. The selection was finally made and Mr. Blaine resigned from the Senate to begin his career as a cabinet minister. His efforts while in the House and Senate to bring about a better condition of affairs and trade with the Spanish-American Republics have already been alluded to. In the Cabinet he sought to accomplish the same end. Like John Quincy Adams he believed the several American countries should be brought into closer relations with each other, believing if that could be done wars between them would cease.

His great idea was to adopt and perfect an American continental system. From the very beginning of his cabinet service as Secretary of State he undertook to carry his great idea into effect. The United States was the leader in wealth and power and in international standing. He felt and urged that it should be the friend and adviser of all the others, and should offer its friendly services to arbitrate all differences which might spring up between any of the others. If this could be brought about the natural consequence would be a vast extension of our trade with those countries.

He desired to bring about an assemblage of representatives of all the independent governments of the American continents, for the express purpose of ensuring peace, and binding all in a greater friendship. President Garfield gave his approval to the plan to summon a Pan-American conference, and it was in process of being accomplished when the President was shot down by an assassin. Secretary Blaine also had under consideration inviting England to a conference looking to the abrogation or modification of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty. All this was lost for the time by the death of President Garfield.

On his accession to the presidency President Arthur seemed at first to be in accord with the views of Mr. Blaine, but when Mr. Blaine was succeeded in the Secretaryship by Mr. Frelinghuysen the matter was dropped. The invitations to the other countries had been sent out by Secretary Blaine before he retired from the Cabinet, but his policies were reversed by his successor and the invitations withdrawn.

In February, 1882, Mr. Blaine made his last public appearance in the Hall of the House of Representatives. It was a very solemn occasion. He had been invited by Congress to deliver an address on the life and death of the lamented Garfield. Who was better qualified among our public men for such a duty? He and Mr. Garfield had served long together as members of the House; they had been intimate friends, and no one was more attentive at the bedside of the stricken President than his Secretary of State. In this short sketch only the closing sentences of that masterly address can be given. He said:

Gently, silently, the love of a great people bore the pale sufferer to the longed-for healing of the sea, to live or to die as God should will, within sight of its heaving billows, within sound of its manifold voices. With wan, fevered face tenderly lifted to the cooling breeze, he looked out wistfully upon the ocean's changing wonders; on its far sails whitening in the morning light; on its restless waves rolling shoreward to break and die beneath the noonday sun; on the red clouds of evening, arching low to the horizon; on the serene and shining pathway of the stars. Let us think that his dying eyes read a mystic meaning which only the rapt and parting soul may know. Let us believe that in the silence of the receding world he heard the great waves breaking on a farther shore, and felt already upon his wasted brow the breath of the eternal morning.

Having retired from public life Mr. Blaine devoted himself to writing of his twenty years in Congress. There was no man in public life

who was better fitted for such a task, or better able to tell the story of Congress during the perilous days of the Civil War, and of those dark days when reconstruction was dividing the country, or of the days which immediately followed the restoration of the Union by giving to the seceding States their rightful place in the Union. It was a great task.

Mr. Blaine had been a close observer and an active participant in most of the legislation of those days. The result of his labors in writing this history was to give to the public an admirable treatise of the Congresses in which he served, together with his estimate of some of those with whom he served. He told the story without bitterness. A criticism may arise that in some particulars he failed by not giving as much of the details as was needed to make it a complete history of the times. Taken as a whole, however, it is an admirable and valuable addition to American political history.

During his retirement, and while engaged in this great literary labor, his name was continually discussed as the logical candidate of his party in 1884 for the Presidency. He had kept his finger on the public pulse, and no doubt was gratified in seeing the party turning to him. He was in somewhat of a different mood from the days before when he was openly a candidate for the nomination. His two defeats had not soured him, but they had rendered him skeptical as to popular favor, although in retirement he was regarded as the real leader of his party. If he entered the race it would be to meet President Arthur, who was a candidate to succeed himself. Mr. Arthur had gone into the presidency under the most distressing circumstances. The wild words of Giteau, the assassin of President Garfield, had aroused some antagonism to Mr. Arthur, and that feeling still existed in some quarters. He had given the country an exceptionally prudent and wise administration and had thus removed many of the doubts which had existed at the time he took the office, and he had grown strong among the people. He would also have to meet other aspirants, notably Senator Sherman, of Ohio, who, like Mr. Blaine, was a standing aspirant.

In addition to this there was some opposition to Mr. Blaine manifested by a faction of the Republican party, based, as they claimed, on his attitude toward civil service reform, which at that time was a fetich among a numerous class of voters. These opponents had been derisively called "Mugwumps" by the Regulars. Mr. Blaine knew of this opposition and he hesitated giving his consent to the movement in his favor. He had two or three other things to contend with. His old quarrel with Mr. Conkling had been intensified by the action of President Garfield in making certain New York appointments. It was believed by Mr. Conkling and his friends that President Garfield had been influenced in the matter of the appointments by Mr. Blaine, his Secretary of State. If he should be successful in securing the nomina-

tion he could not, under existing feelings, expect the ardent support of Mr. Conkling, and without such support his success in New York would be problematical. He had still another trouble before him. He had not been on friendly terms with General Grant for a number of years, and the friends of that distinguished citizen were disposed to punish Mr. Blaine, although no such disposition existed upon the part of the General himself.

When the convention met it was generally believed Mr. Blaine would be nominated without much of a struggle. Such was the result. For the first three ballots President Arthur led, but the fourth was conclusive, giving Mr. Blaine 541 votes to 207 for the President, with sixty-eight scattering.

The ticket had hardly been named and the platform adopted than the campaign opened at fever heat. General Grant took quite an active part, as did Senator Conkling at a later date. On the other hand the "Mugwumps" became equally busy, and the old Mulligan letter scandal was revamped to do duty against the man who had dared to read them before the House of Representatives in his own defense. Still the outlook was favorable to the Republican ticket. He personally canvassed several of the States, drawing large and enthusiastic audiences. The Democratic ticket was headed by Grover Cleveland, who as the Democratic candidate for Governor had lately swept New York. He had as his running mate Thomas A. Hendricks, a man of great popularity in his own State, which was always regarded as one of the doubtful States at each election.

Unfortunately for himself and his party, only a few days before the election was to take place, Mr. Blaine accepted an invitation to attend a banquet in New York, tendered by a number of the wealthy citizens of that place. At that time there was great unrest among the laboring classes, and a very strong ill-feeling against the wealthy was prevalent. The banquet was eagerly seized upon by the friends of Mr. Cleveland, who exploited it among the laboring classes. It cost Mr. Blaine several thousand votes. To add to this he was waited upon on his arrival in New York by a delegation of clergymen. Their spokesman was a man named Burchard. In his address to Mr. Blaine he stated that "Rum, Romanism, and Rebellion" were arrayed against him. It was a foolish phrase, but its folly, coupled with the millionaire banquet, kept Mr. Blaine out of the presidency.

By this time his physical health began to be undermined. He was attacked by that dread malady known as Bright's disease. In the hope of regaining his old-time physical strength Mr. Blaine visited Europe, after completing his "Twenty Years in Congress." He was still cheerful and full of hope. His friends looked forward to future success for him, and they kept up the agitation for his nomination in 1888. The opposition to him had gained some strength, but the general impression was that he would be the choice of the convention when it met.

He wrote from Europe to his friends that he would not be a candidate, but President Cleveland in his message to Congress attacked the whole Republican theory of the tariff, and Mr. Blaine thought he saw his opportunity. He submitted to an interview in London in which he combatted with all his old-time vigor and force the arguments of the President. He maintained that the President would sacrifice the home market for an illusion. This interview was taken by his friends as a practical announcement of his candidacy for the nomination, and they rallied to his support.

However, he refrained from announcing himself as an actual candidate. To one of his intimate friends he wrote: "Ever since the last election I have felt that I would not run again unless I should be called upon by the practically unanimous judgment and wish of the party. I did not expect to receive that unanimity and therefore feel no disappointment that other candidates are in the field. Should I permit my name to go into the convention I would certainly meet Sherman, from Ohio; Harrison, from Indiana, and Hawley, from Connecticut. Now, Indiana and Connecticut are two of the States which we must have to succeed. I would not run again except upon a cordial unanimous demand of those States. . . . I do not doubt that I could be nominated, and if I had not been defeated in 1884 I would undoubtedly go into the convention, but having had my chance and lost I do not wish to appear as a claimant with the demand 'Try me again.'"

Only a few days before the convention was to assemble he wrote to another friend: "If I should now, by speech or by silence, by commission or by omission, permit my name in any event to come before the convention, I should incur the reproach of being uncandid with those who have always been candid with me. . . . I am not willing to be the cause of misleading a single man among the millions who have given me their suffrages and their confidence. I am not willing that even one of my faithful supporters in the past should think me capable of paltering in a double sense with my words. Assuming that the presidential nomination could by any possible chance be offered to me, I could not accept it without leaving in the minds of thousands of these men the impression that I had not been free from indirection, and therefore I could not accept it at all. The misrepresentations of malice have no weight with me, but the just displeasure of my friends I could not patiently endure."

During the balloting at the convention it was charged by the friends of other candidates that this positive letter of refusal to become the candidate of the party had been concealed in the hope that the convention when worn out with unsuccessful balloting would turn to Mr. Blaine with an unanimity that would force his acceptance. Its existence had become known to some of the friends of the other candidates, and they forced its publication. This ended the effort to bring about

the nomination of Mr. Blaine. After several ballotings the nomination fell to General Benjamin Harrison, of Indiana.

Mr. Blaine did not sulk in his tent. He returned to America and at once became active in the work of the campaign. In the interest of the candidacy of Mr. Harrison he canvassed several States, drawing large crowds. In this he increased his popularity with the people and before the election they began to talk of him as the logical Secretary of State in case the Republican ticket should be successful at the polls. General Harrison had a great admiration for the talents of Mr. Blaine, but there was a feeling of unfriendliness existing between them, having its origin in a law suit by Mr. Blaine against a newspaper during the campaign of 1884, in which General Harrison had appeared as the attorney for Mr. Blaine. The suit was dismissed at Mr. Blaine's request, and some of his friends accused Mr. Harrison of having made public a private and confidential letter from his client. It was not true, and General Harrison felt that Mr. Blaine ought to have made that fact public.

Notwithstanding this feeling Mr. Harrison, soon after his election, tendered the State portfolio to Mr. Blaine. He had been out of the public service for about seven years, but during that time had closely watched the current of events. He now had an opportunity to push his favorite theory of a closer relation with the other American governments. In that he had the full sympathy and cooperation of the President.

Several perplexing matters with other nations came up for solution. The German government had assumed an irritating attitude in the Samoan Islands. This manner Secretary Blaine took up with his usual clearness and force and finally compelled Germany and Great Britain to accede to the demands of the United States.

A few months before his term as President expired Mr. Cleveland had invited the independent governments of the two American continents to send delegates to a conference to be held in Washington. This was in direct line of what Mr. Blaine had attempted to do while Secretary of State in the administration of President Garfield.

The invitation was accepted and in October, 1889, the conference opened, Secretary Blaine welcoming the delegates in a well-timed and eloquent speech. He was chosen to preside over the meetings of the conference. Occupying the chair he was still the mainspring of all the sessions. The conference lasted for several months. Its results are well known.

During his occupancy of the Department of State under Mr. Harrison there occurred several occasions for friction between the two distinguished men, and the Cabinet of President Harrison was not always harmonious. The health of Mr. Blaine was breaking down, but he kept at work the best he could. He carried on a most voluminous

correspondence regarding the conflicting claims of the United States and Great Britain over the Bering Sea's fisheries. This was one of the most annoying questions that had come before our Government in many years, and was not finally determined until after several parleys. One of Mr. Blaine's policies was that of reciprocal trade relations with other countries, especially with those on the American continent.

In 1892 Mr. Harrison was a candidate for the nomination to succeed himself. As admirable as his administration had been he had estranged many of the leaders of his party, especially of that class generally called politicians. Those disaffected men begun to talk of Mr. Blaine as a candidate. By this time the friction between the Secretary and the President had become acute. On the 4th of June, 1892, only a few days before the convention was to assemble, Mr. Blaine suddenly sent the President a brief note resigning the office of Secretary of State. There was not in the note a word of explanation, nor was it couched in the usual language of such notes, but was cold and formal in the extreme. The President accepted the resignation in equally brief and cold terms. Mr. Blaine at once let it be known he would accept the presidential nomination if given him. President Harrison was renominated, but failed of reelection.

There were some vagaries in the actions and talk of Mr. Blaine at this time which led his most intimate friends to believe his mind was affected. His vagaries seemed to be confined to imaginary controversies between himself and the President. On all other subjects he was mentally as clear and alert as at any time in his life. On the 27th of January, 1893, the end came and James Gillespie Blaine passed from earth. President Harrison issued a proclamation announcing the death in the following terms:

To the People of the United States:

It is my painful duty to announce to the people of the United States the death of James Gillespie Blaine, which occurred in this city today at 11 o'clock.

For a full generation this eminent citizen has occupied a conspicuous and influential position in the nation. His first public service was in the Legislature of his State. Afterwards, for fourteen years, he was a member of the National House of Representatives, and was three times chosen its Speaker. In 1876 he was elected to the Senate. He resigned his seat in that body in 1881 to accept the position of Secretary of State in the Cabinet of President Garfield. After the tragic death of his chief he resigned from the Cabinet, and devoted himself to literary work, giving to the public in his "Twenty Years in Congress" a most valuable and enduring contribution to our political literature. In March, 1889, he again became Secretary of State and continued to exercise this office until June, 1892. His devotion to the public interests, his marked ability, and his exalted patriotism has won for him the gratitude and affection of his countrymen, and the admiration of the world. In the varied pursuits of legislation, diplomacy and literature his genius has added new luster to American citizenship.

As a suitable expression of the national appreciation of his great public services and of the general sorrow caused by his death, I direct that on the day of his

funeral all the departments of the executive branch of the Government at Washington be closed, and that on all public buildings throughout the United States the national flag shall be displayed at half staff, and that for a period of thirty days the Department of State be draped in mourning.

In every situation of life Mr. Blaine served manfully and well. Although a partisan, and one willing to take advantage of every opportunity to aid his party, his actions during the six sessions of the House in which he presided as Speaker and his rulings were eminently fair and just. He possessed a wonderful memory for names and faces, and this aided him materially in his political aspirations. As Secretary of State he was first, last, and all the time an American, filled with a sublime faith that the United States was to continue as the leading exponent of the rights of the people to govern themselves and of their ability to govern themselves.

In his autobiography the late Senator George F. Hoar has this to say of Mr. Blaine:

I entered the House of Representatives of the United States at the spring session which began March 4, 1869, at the beginning of Grant's administration. It then contained a very interesting and important group of men, the most brilliant and conspicuous of whom was, undoubtedly, Mr. James G. Blaine. The public, friends and foes, judged of him by a few striking and picturesque qualities. There has probably never been a man in our history upon whom so few people looked with indifference. He was born to be loved or hated. Nobody occupied a middle ground as to him. In addition to the striking qualities which caught the public eye, he was a man of profound knowledge of our political history, of a sure literary taste, and of great capacity as an orator. He studied and worked out for himself very abstruse questions on which he formed his own opinions, usually with great sagacity. How far he was affected in his position by the desire for public favor I will not undertake to say. I think the constitution of his mind was such that matters were apt to strike him in much the same way as they were apt to strike the majority of the people of the North, especially of the Northwest, where he was always exceedingly popular. He maintained very friendly personal relations with some of the more intelligent Southerners, especially Lamar.

In another part of his autobiography the distinguished Senator from Massachusetts thus characterizes Mr. Blaine:

James G. Blaine was a man of many faults and many infirmities. But his life is a part of the history of his country. It will be better for his reputation that the chapter of that history which relates to him shall be written by a historian with a full and clear sense of those faults and infirmities, concealing nothing, and extenuating nothing. But also let him set nought down in malice. Mr. Blaine was a brilliant and able man, lovable, patriotic, far-seeing, kind. He acted in a great way under great responsibilities. He was wise and prudent when wisdom and prudence were demanded. If he had attained to the supreme object of his ambition and reached the goal of the Presidency, if his life had been spared to complete his term, it would have been a most honorable period, in my opinion, in the history of the country. No man has lived in this country since Daniel Webster died, save McKinley alone, who had so large a number of devoted friends and admirers in all parts of the country.

MICHAEL CRAWFORD KERR

MICHAEL CRAWFORD KERR—Speaker of the House of Representatives in the Forty-fourth Congress. Born near Titusville, Pennsylvania, March 23, 1827. Educated at Erie Academy and Louisville University. Died at Rockbridge Alum Springs, Virginia, August 19, 1876.

Michael C. Kerr was one of the most amiable, the most just, of men in all the walks of life. As a legislator he was wise and prudent, without prejudice; as a presiding officer of the House of Representatives, he was dignified, amiable, yet firm, giving his rulings quickly, yet always without partisanship. He made six campaigns for a seat in the House of Representatives and won five of them. In the race he lost he was a candidate for the State at large, and in a vote of more than 300,000, he was defeated by 162 votes.

At the age of eighteen Mr. Kerr was graduated from the Erie Academy. Soon after leaving the Academy he married and removed from Pennsylvania to Kentucky, where he engaged in teaching for a short time. While thus engaged he gave his leisure hours to the study of law, mingling with that study a careful research of political economy. His time given to the study of political economy was fruitful in fitting him for the high positions he later was called upon to fill, for during his ten years in Congress he met few who were as equally well versed in that science, and to that was due much of the influence he wielded among the national legislators, and especially with the members of his own political party.

Giving up teaching, he attended the Louisville University, perfecting himself in the knowledge of law. In 1852 he received from the University the degree of Bachelor of Laws, and chose New Albany, Indiana, as his future home. In a very few months he impressed himself so greatly on the people of that thriving little city that he was elected City Attorney, and the next year was made Prosecuting Attorney for the Circuit Court. His amiability and uprightness of character won for him the respect of the people, and in 1856, when he had been a resident of the county only four years, he was sent to represent the county in the Legislature of the State. There he soon made his mark with the leaders of his party. He was a Democrat, holding to the principles of the party founded by Jefferson. His policy, as he later said of himself, was to "legislate in the interests of the people as a whole; to make life and liberty more easy and free."

The Republicans won in Indiana in the campaign of 1860. Among those elected to office that year was Benjamin Harrison, afterward President of the United States. He was elected to the office of Reporter of the Decisions of the Supreme Court, perhaps at that time the

most lucrative office in the State. The war came and Mr. Harrison went to the front at the head of a regiment. His term of office was for four years, and would not expire by law until 1865, but it was held by the Democrats that having accepted a commission as Colonel in the army, Mr. Harrison had voluntarily vacated the office of Reporter of the Supreme Court. In accordance with that they nominated a candidate for that position, the candidate being Mr. Kerr. The Republicans did not take the same view, holding that Mr. Harrison having been elected for four years he was entitled to that office, though he administered it by a deputy, and made no nomination for the claimed vacancy. Mr. Kerr was declared elected, and served the remaining two years of the term. In 1864 General Harrison was again nominated by the Republicans, Mr. Kerr declining the nomination by his party. In the election Mr. Harrison was successful.

Having declined the nomination for the State office, Mr. Kerr announced himself as a candidate before his party for the congressional nomination, which he received, and was duly elected a member of the House of Representatives. It was just as the Civil War was closing and the era of reconstruction beginning. His attitude during the war was always that of a patriot. In his book of "Reminiscences," William Wesley Woolen gives this account of Mr. Kerr's first nomination for Congress:

In 1864 he was a candidate for the Democratic nomination for Congress, the late Colonel Cyrus L. Dunham being his principal competitor. The nominating convention met at Jeffersonville, in the old Methodist church on Wall street. Politics was at fever heat, and the contest between Mr. Kerr and Colonel Dunham was very close. An hour or so before the convention was to meet Mr. Kerr called a caucus of his friends. . . . The gentlemen thus called together supposed the purpose of the meeting was to make arrangements for the management of the convention. When all were seated Mr. Kerr arose, drew himself up to his full height of six feet or more, and with suppressed excitement, but with perfect self-control, said he must withdraw from the race for Congress; that he was in possession of the knowledge that a conspiracy existed against the government of the State; that the conspirators were Democrats; that he felt it his duty to go to Indianapolis and lay the facts before Governor Morton; that such a course would embitter certain Democrats and jeopardize his election should he be a candidate. Mr. English and others made remarks after Mr. Kerr had taken his seat, the purport of which was that he was right in his purpose to make known and denounce the conspiracy, but wrong in determining to withdraw from the contest; that only a few hot-heads had gone wrong; that the great body of the party was loyal to the Government. Mr. Kerr persisted in his purpose to decline, and it was formally announced that he was no longer a candidate. Afterward, however, several gentlemen were sent to him by the various county delegations, who urged him to stand. He finally consented to do so, and was nominated.

As soon as the nominating convention adjourned Mr. Kerr took the train and went to Indianapolis. There he met one of his friends, one who was classed as among the leaders of his party. He told him what his mission to the city was. Together they called on Joseph E. Mc-

Donald, afterward a distinguished member of the United States Senate. It was late at night, but they were so impressed by the danger of a civil war in the State that they called Mr. McDonald from his bed and laid the matter before him. A meeting of the leading Democrats was called for the next morning, when Mr. Kerr made a most impressive speech, telling them the whole thing had to be stopped, and stopped at once. It was stopped.

Mr. Kerr took his seat in the Thirty-ninth Congress. It was a turbulent session. Reconstruction was the main question before Congress and before the people. President Lincoln had been assassinated and Andrew Johnson was occupying that high office. Among the Republicans were many radicals, who insisted upon the most severe treatment of the States lately in rebellion against the Government. Mr. Kerr was conservative. He took the view of the late President Lincoln, that the sooner all the States were brought back to their proper place in the Union the better it would be for the whole country. In his first term he did not push himself forward, nor make any extended speeches. He was content to learn. He was ambitious and readily learned the duties of a national legislator and the methods of procedure in the House.

He was three times reelected, increasing his prestige with the other members and his influence in the party councils. Before the close of his third term he was one of the most influential of the Democratic members, and by his modest demeanor and his clear-headed reasoning reached high popularity among the Republicans. Mr. Kerr was always firm in whatever stand he took, but never obstinate. In his speeches he was clear in his statement, logical in his presentation of his views, but never bitter. As one writer said of him: "Mr. Kerr was not a pleasant speaker. He was too honest and conscientious to stand before an audience and troll off something he thought every intelligent man knew as well as himself. Although possessed of ambition, he was exceedingly modest, and a modest man rarely becomes an attractive extemporaneous speaker."

By the time the Forty-second Congress closed its sessions Mr. Kerr was one of the most popular of its members, and it was believed he had a long life of usefulness before him, and it was confidently believed he would again be returned to the House. The census of 1870 and the apportionment under it gave Indiana two additional members of the House. The State Legislature had failed to redistrict the State, so the two additional members had to be elected by the State at large. Mr. Kerr was nominated by the Democrats for one of the additional seats. It was the campaign when the Democrats had nominated Horace Greeley for President against General Grant, and the party was not harmonious, yet Mr. Kerr was defeated by less than two hundred votes.

In 1874 the party in his district nominated him again for a seat in the House, and this time he triumphed by a very decided majority. In this campaign Mr. Kerr overtaxed his physical strength, and he was compelled to rest for some time to recuperate. He spent several months in the mountains of Colorado in an effort to regain his strength. He did not fully recover, but was able to take his seat at the opening of the Forty-fourth Congress. Before his defeat for the Forty-third Congress he had been talked about as the best available in his party for the Speakership, and when it was known that his party would have a majority in the House in the Forty-fourth Congress, it was generally conceded he would be the candidate for Speaker. Mr. Blaine had served in that position for the three preceding Congresses and was again a candidate. The result of the election was an easy triumph for Mr. Kerr. On taking his seat Mr. Kerr, among other things, said: "I shall, doubtless, many times need your patient indulgence. I pray that you will grant it; and, with nothing but kindly feelings toward every member of the House, I promise that in all my official acts I will divest myself, to the utmost of my ability, of all personal bias." This he did in the short time he was to preside over the deliberations of the House.

Mr. Kerr was never well a day after he was elected Speaker. The disease which had manifested itself during the labors of the campaign the year before was still fastened upon him. As long as he was able to drag himself to the Capitol he presided over the House, but his friends felt the end would soon come. It did. He went to the Rockbridge Alum Springs, in West Virginia. At first the water seemed to benefit him, but presently the disease turned for the worse. On the afternoon of August 15 he telegraphed to a friend that his condition was very critical. This dispatch was read to the House. Representative Banks, of Massachusetts, took the floor and offered the following resolution:

Resolved, That the House of Representatives, at the moment of closing the present session, tenders to Hon. Michael C. Kerr, its beloved and honored presiding officer, the unanimous expression of the heartfelt sympathy of its members in his affliction, and they hope that the recovery of his health may soon restore to his associates in the public service the wisdom of his counsel and the beneficent influence of his example.

The resolution was sent to Speaker Kerr and reached him only a short time before he breathed his last. His remains were taken to his old home at New Albany, accompanied by a committee composed of Representatives and Senators. There they were buried in the midst of the people he loved and who loved him, and had so often given him an evidence of their appreciation by electing him to high offices.

When Congress met again several eloquent memorial speeches were made both in the House and in the Senate. At that time Indiana was

represented in the Senate by Joseph E. McDonald, a Democrat, and Oliver P. Morton, a Republican. Senator Morton was Governor of the State at the time the conspiracy to overthrow the State government existed—the conspiracy thwarted by the threatened exposure of Mr. Kerr at the time he was first a candidate for the House, and who knew of the activities of Mr. Kerr at that time. In this brief sketch only a part of what Senator Morton said in the Senate on the day of the memorial exercises can be given. He said:

His name will be remembered with pride and with affection in Indiana. He was one of her most highly favored and gifted sons, and it gives me satisfaction to bear testimony to his patriotism. I believe he was a devout lover of his country, and went for that which he believed was for the best. I have always given him credit for his integrity, and for his patriotism, and for love of his country, and the strongest testimony I can bear to the character of Mr. Kerr is to say that he was regarded by men of all parties in Indiana as an honest man, an able man, a patriotic man, and that his death was mourned by all his neighbors and by all who knew him, without distinction of party.

On the same occasion Senator McDonald bore this testimony to the worth of the late Speaker of the House:

He filled every station to which he was called, public and private, with honor. He honored the city in which he lived, and his name is there cherished as a household word. He honored the district which had conferred upon him its highest favor, and his memory will be long held in reverence by his people. He honored the State of his adoption, and it will preserve his name upon the roll of its most illustrious citizens. He honored the high place to which he was called by the representatives of the whole people, and for that we this day place his name "in memorium" upon the records of the Congress of the nation, there to remain for all time.

The last days of this illustrious man and patriot were embittered by a cruel and malicious attack upon his honor as a legislator and as a man. A lobbyist in Washington by the name of Harney charged that he had paid, on an occasion some years previously, a large sum of money to Mr. Kerr to procure the appointment to a position in the army for a client. This charge was made shortly after Mr. Kerr had been elected Speaker, and not long before his death. At the request of Mr. Kerr a committee was appointed to investigate the charge. A hearing was held and the matter thoroughly sifted. The committee closed its exhaustive report as follows:

Your committee has found no difficulty in reaching the conclusion that the charge, as made by Harney, as to the payment of the amount of money stated, or any other sum, to Mr. Kerr for the purpose and object named, is unqualifiedly false; that Mr. Kerr stands fully exonerated from all implication in anywise affecting his personal honor or official integrity. Your committee finds nothing throughout the whole progress of this investigation to impair or detract from the well-established reputation that he enjoys for unquestioned personal integrity and unsullied purity of official record.

When this report was presented to the House an unparalleled scene followed. Several members made short speeches on the question of concurring in the report, and then the previous question was ordered. General Garfield, then a member of the House, asked that the adoption of the report be by a rising vote, which was ordered. Every member promptly rose to his feet when the ayes were called for. Representative Banks, of Massachusetts, then asked that a count should be had in order to make a permanent record that the report received the unanimous concurrence of the House. That was done and the record made that the report was concurred in by a vote of 210 yeas, nays none.

Never was a public man more completely vindicated than was Mr. Kerr. One of the members of the House in speaking of the charge and the report said: "The long record of an honorable life outweighs all charges of those loose defamers whom these base times encourage to detraction and scandal."

William Wesley Woollen in his "Reminiscences" thus characterizes Mr. Kerr: "Mr. Kerr lived and died a poor man. With opportunities to make money possessed by few, he chose to do that which was right, preferring a good name to great riches. On his dying bed he said to his son and only child: 'I have nothing to leave you, my son, except my good name. Guard it and your mother's honor, and live as I have lived. Pay all my debts, if my estate will warrant it without leaving your mother penniless. Otherwise pay what you can, and then go to my creditors and tell them the truth, and pledge your honor to wipe out the indebtedness.'"

SAMUEL SULLIVAN COX

SAMUEL SULLIVAN COX—Speaker of the House of Representatives in the Forty-fourth Congress. Born at Zanesville, Ohio, September 30, 1824. Son of Ezekiel Taylor and Maria Matilda (Sullivan) Cox. Educated at Ohio University at Athens, Ohio, and Brown University, Providence, Rhode Island. Married Miss Julia Buckingham. Died in New York City, September 10, 1889.

Samuel Sullivan, or as he was better known, SunSet Cox, was one of the most interesting figures ever found in the American Congress. He had the unique history of having served several terms in the House of Representatives from the State of Ohio, and then serving a number of terms representing a district in New York City.

Having graduated from Brown University, he studied law and was admitted to the bar in his home city. He readily commanded a fair practice, but his tendency was literary and he became editor of the Ohio Statesman, one of the leading Democratic papers of the State at

that time. As a political writer he quickly became known to his chosen party throughout the State, his fame extending beyond the borders of the State. He traveled extensively through Europe, making a study of the political, financial, and social conditions of the various countries visited. Returning home he gave to the public the results of his rambling in a delightful book called "A Buckeye Abroad." In 1853 President Franklin Pierce offered him the position of Secretary of Legation at London, but Mr. Cox declined the offer. Later he accepted the same position at Lima, Peru. This would give him an opportunity to study the Latin countries in South America. On his way to his appointed station he was taken sick at Panama and returned home.

He was elected as a Democrat to the Thirty-fifth, Thirty-sixth, Thirty-seventh, and Thirty-eighth Congresses from his Ohio District, serving from March 4, 1857, to March 4, 1865. He entered Congress at a strenuous time. Slavery was the agitating subject, and the country was torn over the proposed admission of Kansas as a State in the Union. Riotous and bloody scenes were enacted in that distressed Territory, and party divisions were playing havoc with political ambitions in every section. He was a Democrat, but was not in sympathy with the administration of President Buchanan regarding Kansas. The first speech he made after entering Congress was a bold announcement of the position he intended to take. It was made December 10, 1857, and, by the way, was the first speech delivered in the new Hall of the House, which had just been completed and occupied. In that speech he said:

"I propose now to nail against the door, at the threshold of this Congress, my theses. When the proper time comes I will defend them, whether from the assaults of political friend or foe. I would fain be silent, sir, here and now. But silence, which is said to be as 'harmless as a rose's breath,' may be as perilous as a pestilence. This peril comes from the attempt to forego the capital principle of Democratic policy, which I think has been done by the constitutional convention of Kansas. I maintain: (1) That the highest refinement and greatest utility of Democratic policy—the genius of our institutions—is the right of self-government. (2) That this self-government means the will of the majority legally expressed. (3) That this self-government and majority rule were sacredly guaranteed in the organic act of Kansas. (4) That it was guaranteed upon the question of slavery in term; and generally with respect to all the domestic institutions of the people. (5) That domestic institutions mean all which are local, not national—State, not Federal. It means that and that only—that always. (6) That the people were to be left perfectly free to establish or abolish slavery, as well as to form and regulate their other institutions.

That the doctrine was recognized in every part of the Confederacy by the Democracy; fixed in their national platform; asserted by their speakers and presses; reiterated by their candidates; incorporated in messages and instructions; and formed the feature which distinguished the Democracy from its opponents, who maintained the doctrine of Congressional intervention. (8) The Lecompton constitution, while it is asserted it is submitted to the people in the essential point, thus recognizing an obligation to submit it in some mode, cannot, in any event, be rejected by the people of Kansas. The vote must be for its approval, whether the voter votes one way or another. The people may be unwilling to take either of the propositions, yet must vote one or the other of them. They have to vote 'constitution with slavery,' or 'constitution with no slavery'; but the constitution they must take."

Those points were elaborated by Mr. Cox during the later discussion, he insisting at all times that the people of Kansas must be left absolutely free in their choice. He afterward voted to admit Kansas under a free constitution. During his service in those Congresses he took part in nearly all major discussions. He had at his command a fund of good-natured ridicule and humor, and frequently gave free way to this propensity. He was also fond of making classical allusions in his speeches, and to quote from some of the great poets of ancient and modern days. He was an unsuccessful candidate for Speaker of the House in the Thirty-eighth and Thirty-ninth Congresses against Schuyler Colfax. He was defeated for reelection to the Thirty-ninth Congress. The war between the States brought many changes in official life. Mr. Cox was a Democrat, and while deploring the agitation which finally brought the country to a state of war, he supported the administration of President Lincoln in his efforts to save the Union.

Having been defeated for reelection, he devoted himself to the preparation of the story of his eight years in Congress. He was still ambitious for a public life, and realizing that Ohio was firmly fixed in the Republican column he removed to New York City in 1868 and began the practice of law, devoting much time, however, to literary pursuits. He made another tour of Europe, gathering more information to be of use to him in his after career. In 1870 he defeated Horace Greeley, the great editor, for Congress and once more took his seat in the House of Representatives. He had been the unsuccessful candidate of the Democrats and Liberal Republicans, but later was elected to fill a vacancy in the same Congress. He served from December 1, 1873, to March 4, 1885. He was appointed Minister to Turkey by President Cleveland. On his return he was again elected to Congress and served until his death in 1899. One of his best-remembered speeches during his long service in the House was the eulogy he pronounced on his friend, Senator Douglas. Among other things he said:

"Some have lamented his death now as untimely and unfortunate for his own fame, since it has happened just at the moment when the politician is lost in the patriot, and when he had a chance to atone for past error by new devotion. Mr. Speaker, men do not change their nature so easily. The Douglas of 1861 was the Douglas of 1850, 1854, and 1858. The patriot who denounced this great rebellion was the patriot in every fold and lineament of his character. There is not a page of his history that we can afford to blot out. The words which escaped him in the delirium of his last days—when he heard the 'battle afar off, the thunder of the captains, and the shouting'—were the key-note to a harmonious life. . . . History will be false to her trust if she does not write that Stephen A. Douglas was a patriot of matchless purity, and a statesman who, foreseeing and warning, tried his utmost to avert the dangers which are now so hard to repress. Nor will she permit those who now praise his last great effort for the Union to qualify it by sinister reflections upon his former conduct; for thus they tarnish the lustre of a life devoted, in peace and in war, to the preservation of the Union. His fame never had an eclipse. Its disk has been ever bright to the eye of history. It sank below the horizon, like the sun of the Morea, full-orbed and in the full blaze of its splendor. How much we shall miss him here! How can we, his associates, do without his counsel? No longer does the murmur go 'round that Douglas is speaking in the Senate; no longer does the House become quorumless to listen to his voice! His death is like the dissolution of a political organism. Indeed, we could better afford to lose a sphere of stars from our flag; for those might wander to return. But Douglas cannot be brought back to us. . . . Who is left to take his place? Alas! he has no successor."

He served in the House for a quarter of a century, and during all that time was the genial friend of all his colleagues. He was better known as "Sun Set Cox" than by his baptismal name. This sobriquet came from a description of a sunset he witnessed in one of his journeys through Europe. It is worthy a place here:

"What a stormful sunset that was of last night! How glorious the storm, and how splendid the setting of the sun! We do not remember ever before to have seen the like on our round globe. The scene opened in the West with a whole horizon full of a golden interpenetrating luster which colored the foliage and brightened every object into its own rich dyes. The colors grew deeper and richer until the golden luster was transfused into a storm cloud, full of finest lightning, which leaped into dazzling zigzags all 'round and over the city. The wind arose with fury, the slender shrubs and giant trees made obeisance to its majesty. Some even snapped before its force. The strawberry beds and grass plots 'turned up their whites' to see Zephyrus march

by. As the rain came, and the pools formed, and the gutters hurried away, thunder roared grandly, and the fire bells caught the excitement and rang with hearty chorus. The South and East received the copious showers, and the West all at once brightened in a long, polished belt of azure, worthy of a Sicilian sky.

"Presently a cloud appeared in the azure belt in the form of a castellated city. It became more vivid, revealing strange forms of peerless fanes and alabaster temples, and glories rare and grand in this mundane sphere, reminding us of Woodsworth's splendid verse in his 'Excursion':

"The appearance spontaneously disclosed
Was of a mighty city, boldly say
A Wilderness of buildings, sinking far
And self-withdrawn into a wondrous depth
Far sinking into splendor without end."

"But the city vanished, only to give place to another isle, where the most beautiful forms of foliage appeared, imaging a Paradise in the distant and purified air.

"The sun, wearied of the elemental commotion, sank behind the green plains of the West. The 'great eye in Heaven,' however, went not down without a dark brow hanging over its departing light. The rich flush of the unearthly light had passed and the rain had ceased; when the solemn church bells pealed, the laughter of children out and joyous after the storm is heard with carol of birds, while the forked and purple weapon of the skies still darted illumination around Starling College, trying to rival its angles and leap into its dark windows.

"Candles are lighted. The piano strikes up. We feel it is good to have a home; good to be on the earth where such revelations of beauty and power may be made. And as we cannot refrain from reminding our readers of everything wonderful in our city, we have begun and ended our feeble etching of a sunset which comes so rarely that its glory should be committed to immortal type."

He was appointed Speaker pro tem on June 7, 1876, to serve on account of the absence of Speaker Michael C. Kerr, and was elected Speaker on the 19th of that month to fill the vacancy occasioned by the death of Mr. Kerr. He served during the few remaining days of the session.

Mr. Cox engaged in the discussion of every important question which came before the House during his thirty-two years of service. He was an able speaker, and was always given an attentive hearing by his colleagues. One of his colleagues thus spoke of him at the memorial service in the House:

"Samuel S. Cox, gentle and kind of heart, forgiving and merciful, who never heard, unmoved, a cry of distress, with that great multitude

who, with pure hearts and lives devoted to the happiness of mankind, the alleviation of human misery, ascend from our globe to the realm of the immortals, will rejoice in the imperishable love and affection which began in this lower world and will find supreme happiness in learning, with every cycle of the countless ages, more and more, something of the nature of the infinite universe and of the attributes of the merciful and ever-living Father of us all."

Another of his colleagues thus characterized him:

"He was democratic in a sense so high, broad, and deep that it knew no confines. He loved his party for its principles, and his principles he subordinated to no expediency. The secret, in part, of his great success was, in my opinion, due to high and noble motives, persistency, and independence in pursuing the object in view, and the intense concentration of a brilliant and fully equipped mind, and magnetic and pleasing personality in the one thing to be done at the particular moment."

SAMUEL JACKSON RANDALL

SAMUEL JACKSON RANDALL—Speaker of the House of Representatives in the Forty-fourth, Forty-fifth, and Forty-sixth Congresses. Born in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, October 10, 1828. Son of Josiah and Ann (Worrell) Randall. Educated at the Academy of the University of Pennsylvania. Married Miss Ward. Died in Washington City, April 13, 1890.

When the Thirty-eighth Congress met, on the first Monday in December, 1863, among the members of the House of Representatives who lined up in front of the Speaker's desk to take the oath was a young man from one of the Philadelphia districts who was destined to play a great and important part in the political and legislative annals of the country, and to occupy a prominent place in its history, and who, on one memorable occasion, by his firmness, courage, and exalted patriotism saved the Government from chaos and the country from possible ruin.

That young man was Samuel Jackson Randall, who was successively elected a member of the House of Representatives fourteen times, the last two elections being unanimous. He was three times elected Speaker of the House, which he ruled and guided with a firmness that made him one of the ablest presiding officers that body has ever had. He was a great man, a great statesman, a great American.

Mr. Randall was born in Philadelphia, the city that witnessed the signing of the immortal Declaration, which told the world that a new nation was born, and where those patriots and statesmen assembled in 1787 and formulated a "government of the people, for the people and by the people" that was to carry a blessing to the oppressed of

other lands. The story of that Declaration, and of that Constitution, no doubt, were made familiar to his ears in the days of his boyhood, acting as an inspiration through all his after years.

His father was one of the most prominent lawyers of the city, held in high esteem by his fellows. He was active in politics, but never seeking office. He was a Whig of the Henry Clay school, supporting and advocating the theories of government promulgated by the great Kentuckian. He was an ardent supporter of Clay's "American system," that system which sought to build up and encourage American industries by protecting them through the means of tariff regulations from foreign competition. He trained his son up to the same ardent belief, and the son never departed from the training, but ever stood as the champion of protection.

It is highly probable that the father hoped his son would follow in his footsteps and take his place at the bar, but it was not to be. He preferred a mercantile career, and after leaving the Academy he entered the counting-room of a local silk merchant. It is highly probable that he there displayed qualities which promised success, for he remained with the merchant for several years. He grew tired after a time of working for others, and entered into business on his own account as a coal dealer.

He became interested in political matters. Like his father, he was a Whig. He became very active in the local affairs of the city, and in 1852 was elected a member of the Common Council. This was the year when the race for President was between General Scott and Frank Pierce. Young Randall was an enthusiastic supporter of the hero of Lundy's Lane, and it was a sore disappointment to him when his hero was disastrously defeated. The campaign of 1852 was the final death blow to the Whig party, and two years later a new party was formed. Politically young Randall was an orphan. His Whig training had been too deep to be easily thrown off; the Democratic party, as a party, was opposed to Randall's pet belief as to the tariff; it was the supporter of slavery, an institution in which he did not believe, but which he held ought not be disturbed in the States where it existed. The new party was one with him so far as the tariff was concerned, but its hostility to slavery was too intense to suit his views. He finally landed in the Democratic ranks. It is possible that the nomination of James Buchanan, a fellow-Pennsylvanian, and a man who had been on terms of warm friendship with his family, had much to do with his uniting with the Democrats. Whatever the motive, whatever the influence, he became a Democrat, lived and died as a Democrat in all else but as to tariff legislation. On that question he ever sided and voted with the Republicans.

He was not an orator, and did not take part in the speaking campaign for Buchanan, but became active in organization work. In that

class of work he displayed remarkable efficiency. He knew how to organize; knew how to direct; how to get the most efficient work out of men. He was a successful business man, and his success in that direction may have had some influence in attracting the attention of his fellow-citizens to him as a possible legislator. In 1858 he was elected to the State Senate, and became almost at once the leader in that body. He was a master of details and displayed a thorough knowledge of the affairs of the State, and he suggested several reforms in the administration.

In 1860 he supported Douglas in preference to Breckinridge, but did not take a very active part in the campaign. He loved the Union, and vehemently protested against the threats of disunion indulged in by the adherents of the Kentuckian. When the war between the States came, after the election of President Lincoln, he emphasized his love for the Union by enlisting under the first call of President Lincoln. In Philadelphia at that time was a troop of cavalry dating, in its organization, back to the days of the war for independence. Mr. Randall was a sergeant in the First Troop, and was mustered into the service of the United States on the 13th of May, 1861. The troop was placed under the command of Col. George H. Thomas, who later became the hero of Chickamauga. Under his command the troop took part in the battle of Falling Waters and was the first to enter Martinsburg. They served the three months of the enlistment and were mustered out.

This was not the last of his service, however. He did not immediately return to the army, but gave attention to his private business and to work for the relief of the soldiers or their families. When Pennsylvania was invaded by Lee in 1863, the Troop was reorganized and Mr. Randall was made Captain. They were ordered to Gettysburg, but were driven back. The Troop was under State authority, and under that authority took part in the Gettysburg campaign.

Mr. Randall returned to Philadelphia after the retreat of Lee, and was nominated for Congress from the First Pennsylvania district. His election speedily followed. He took his seat in the Thirty-eighth Congress. It was at a strenuous time. It is true that the victories of the Union armies at Gettysburg and Vicksburg gave promise of the final and complete overthrow of the Southern Confederacy, yet the days were dark. There was much opposition to the war in the North; finances were in bad condition; complications with some of the nations of Europe were threatening. Mr. Randall entered upon the work before him with a devout and earnest purpose to aid all he could to save the Union. He did not endorse the emancipation, and objected to the opening of the ranks of the army to the colored race, yet in all else he supported President Lincoln. Like Lincoln, he had but one purpose in view—saving the Union.

Mr. Randall did not take much part in the debates during his first

years in Congress. He was not an orator in the common acceptation of the term, but he developed into a very forcible debater. He advanced among his colleagues, but it was because of his devotion to duty, rather than because of his powers as a speaker. What speeches he did make were brief and pointed, generally filled with facts and figures he had patiently and intelligently gathered up.

He was a Democrat, and by many regarded as a strong partisan. He was a Democrat in all things but on the question of a tariff, but he was not always partisan. One instance of his breaking away from partisanship has been often cited. A bill was pending authorizing the President to appoint a lieutenant-general of the armies. A majority of the Democrats in the House were opposed to it, for it was generally known that if the bill became a law, the new rank would be given to Grant, while McClellan was the favorite of the Democrats. Mr. Randall would not follow his party in this, but earnestly gave his support to the bill. This by no means was the only example of his non-partisanship.

In the days of reconstruction Mr. Randall stood as a warm friend of the South, opposing such measures as he deemed harsh and unjust to that section of the country. He opposed the amendment abolishing slavery, not so much because he believed in that institution, but because he was convinced it would lead to a brood of constitutional amendments.

He was an advocate of close economy in government expenditures, and when he was chairman of the Committee on Appropriations he put his economy views to actual practice. In pushing his economies he sometimes had to antagonize his own party, and sometimes the Republicans, but he stood steadfast. He was several times a member of the Committee on Ways and Means, and ever stood steadfastly for a protective tariff. This does not mean that he always went as far in that direction as did the Republicans, for he did not do so, but with him protection must be a prime feature in the tariff bill if he was to give it his support.

In 1880 he was prominently spoken of as a probable candidate for the Presidency before the Democratic convention. In that convention he did receive more than one hundred votes. Had he been in full accord with his party on the tariff question there is little doubt he would have been given the nomination instead of General Hancock. He was of the mold that would not barter conviction for office.

He slowly advanced toward the leadership of his party in the House, and in all the party councils he exerted a wide influence, and frequently a dominant influence. He was a stickler for the rights and dignities of the House, and demonstrated this on several occasions when on committee of conference between the House and Senate over differing views on some bill. He held that the House, under the Constitution,

was the real judge as to how the money of the Government was to be expended. As Chairman of the House Committee on Appropriations he had reduced the appropriations far below the estimate by the departments. When the bill reached the Senate, that body would increase the sum. Such increases always brought on a fight, and on two occasions he let important appropriation bills fail in the House because of the increases by the Senate, and thus forced the calling of special sessions.

As a minority leader, perhaps his greatest fame rests on the methods he pursued and the generalship he displayed in defeating what was known as the "Force Bill." It was in the closing days of the Forty-third Congress. Two bills were pending—that known as the Force Bill and the other called the Civil Rights Bill. The Republicans had a large majority in the House, and, it was supposed, could, and would, pass both measures. The minority was opposed to the bills, but were despondent over the outlook. Especially was this true of the members from the Southern States.

In pursuing his convictions of duty, Randall was firm, courageous, and relentless. He was a master of parliamentary law and of the rules of the House. Determined to prevent the passage of the Force Bill, he marshaled his party into an invincible phalanx, ready at all times to stand by him. From the rules of the House he extracted a system of dilatory motions, through which he hoped to stave off the final vote until the session should end by constitutional limitation. For seventy-two hours he stood in his place in the House, compelling one roll call after another. He never left the Hall of the House during those long and trying hours. He ate at his desk or in the lobby in the rear of the Speaker. He never slept, unless it was for an occasional moment during the monotonous roll call. He was there, and there to stay until a victory was won. It was a wonderful test of physical and mental endurance. When the hour came that he knew was too late for the bill to pass the Senate, he calmly withdrew from offering dilatory motions. It is said that when the House finally adjourned after this long filibuster, Randall marched down the aisle carrying in his hand the tin coffee pot from which he had sustained his physical powers during those two days and two nights.

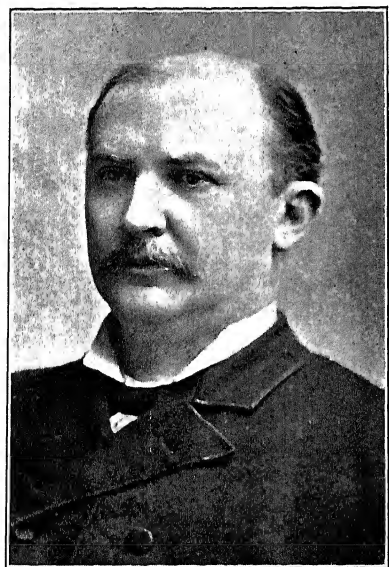
From that time no one questioned his leadership. He was sometimes dogmatic, and would arouse some feeling in his party, but no one thought of denying his leadership. In the Forty-fourth Congress Mr. Michael C. Kerr, of Indiana, was the Speaker. At the time of his election to that office many of the Democratic Representatives preferred Mr. Randall, but Mr. Kerr had served longer, and was known to be one worthy that high honor, so it was given to him. He did not live to serve out his term, death claiming him after a prolonged sickness. Mr. Randall was elected to the vacancy, and reelected at the



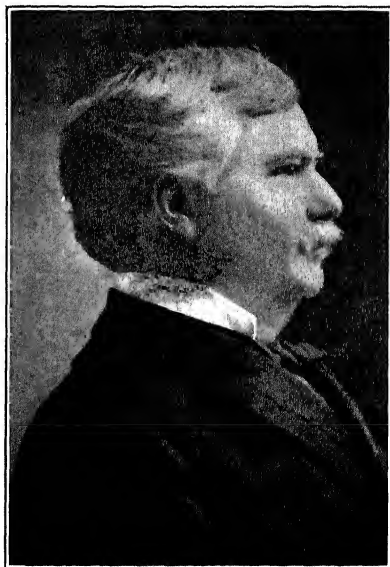
J. WARREN KEIFER, Ohio
Forty-seventh Congress



JOHN G. CARLISLE, Kentucky
Forty-eighth, Forty-ninth and
Fiftieth Congresses



CHARLES F. CRISP, Georgia
Fifty-second and Fifty-third
Congresses



DAVID B. HENDERSON, Iowa
Fifty-sixth and Fifty-seventh
Congresses

Forty-fifth and Forty-sixth Congresses. As a Speaker he was a model presiding officer, quick and ready with his decisions; firm, yet conciliatory; resolute at all times, yet at all times treating the members with the greatest courtesy. It was not infrequent in those days for the House to become unruly and boisterous. On such occasions Mr. Randall held the riotous members with a firm hand, compelling obedience to the rules of the House. He was Speaker at the time of the counting of the vote for Tilden and Hayes, in 1876. It will be recalled that on the face of the returns Hayes had 185 electoral votes, and Tilden 184. In the 185 counted for Hayes were the votes of Florida, South Carolina, and Louisiana, which were disputed by the Democrats. It was a perilous time, and an Electoral Commission, consisting of fifteen members, was provided to pass upon the disputed votes.

On the 1st of March, 1877, three days before the expiration of President Grant's term, the Democrats in the House learned that the decision of the Commission would give the Presidency to Hayes, and, believing that decision to be wrong, organized for the purpose of preventing a completion of the count. The plan consisted of preventing joint sessions of the two houses, and thus prevent the proclaiming of the result of the vote. The accomplishment of such a scheme would have resulted in chaos. After midnight of March 3 there would have been no President, no Congress, and civil war might follow. By dilatory motions they held the House in session until late on the night of the 3rd of March. Only a few hours remained of the session. Then it was that Speaker Randall took hold of the situation. He brushed aside the rules of the House under which the dilatory motions were held to be in order, declared that to count the vote was a duty imposed by the Constitution, and that no motion that would prevent the House from performing that duty was in order; that in counting the vote the House was operating under the Constitution and not under any rules. He quelled what might be styled the mutiny, the counting was proceeded with and completed, and thus the threatened chaos was escaped.

Of Mr. Randall one who knew him well, and who was in position to rightly judge of his capabilities and service, thus wrote of him: "Randall was a natural and ideal leader. His commanding presence attracted followers; his mastery of details, his boldness and unfaltering courage, his mental alertness and resourcefulness, his deliberation and coolness in action, inspired confidence and excited enthusiasm. And beyond these physical and mental qualities stood conspicuously the unquestioned patriotism and invulnerable integrity of the man. His industry was untiring, and when its fruition was presented to the House, as in the case of general appropriation bills, he was as firm as adamant. His work was performed intelligently, conscientiously, and in carrying it out he was alike indifferent to the persuasion of party associates and the attacks of his political opponents. Randall's great

success in his numerous contests in the House was based upon thorough knowledge of details and his wonderful tenacity in adhering to a settled purpose, born of conviction."

It is said of him that as Speaker of the House he was a firm believer in the constitutional rights of the individual members, and that under him no one was permitted to trample on the rights of another. He was eminently fair in his rulings. No one ever questioned the fairness and impartiality of his rulings, even when he brushed aside the rules of the House as he did on that memorable occasion of counting the electoral vote in 1877. No story of Mr. Randall can be complete without quoting what he said on that great occasion: "The Chair rules that when the Constitution of the United States directs anything to be done, or when the laws under the Constitution of the United States, enacted in obedience thereto, direct any act by this House, it is not in order to make any motion to obstruct or impede the execution of that injunction of the Constitution and the laws."

With him the Constitution and the laws were above all party or personal consideration. He believed that the decision of the Electoral Commission was wrong, that it would deprive the nominee of his party of an office to which he had been rightfully elected, yet he did not hesitate, did not falter. The Constitution said count, and that was the end so far as he was concerned. There was a duty to be performed, a duty imposed by the Constitution. To him the Constitution was the highest law of the land. It was the supreme law, and he would not permit it to be infringed.

Mr. Randall was stricken in 1889 with a painful disease. For many months his condition was such as to draw sympathy from all classes of the people, from all political parties. For many months he suffered from this incurable disease. His sufferings, it was said by those who were permitted to visit him, was of the most intense kind, yet he bore it all manfully. It was evident to others that his days on earth were numbered, but he never lost hope until the very last. Death came at last to relieve him from his awful suffering, and the nation went into mourning.

J. WARREN KIEFFER

J. WARREN KIEFFER—Speaker of the House of Representatives in the Forty-seventh Congress. Born in Bethel Township, Clark County, Ohio, January 30, 1836. Son of Joseph and Mary (Smith) Kieffer. Educated in the common schools and at Antioch College. Married, March 18, 1860, Miss Eliza Stout.

J. Warren Kieffer, soldier and statesman, was one of the typical men of America. In his boyhood days he worked on his father's farm, getting what schooling he could in a country school during the winter

months. He was ambitious, and when the opportunity offered he entered Antioch College. He did not finish his course. The death of his father recalled him to the farm, over which he took the management when he was but seventeen years of age. His ambition was to be a lawyer, and that ambition was finally gratified. He entered the office of one of the distinguished lawyers of his town and applied himself to the labor of mastering that science. He was admitted to the bar in 1855 and located at Springfield and began there the practice of his profession.

He took an active interest in political affairs, being an ardent Republican. It was at a time when the country was torn up over the agitation on the question of slavery extension. Squatter sovereignty was bearing its fruit, forcing the country on to its final result—a disastrous civil war. In the political campaign young Kieffer was active in advocating the election of Mr. Lincoln. That election, as everyone knows, hastened the era of war. War came; President Lincoln called for troops; young Kieffer was among the first to respond, and on the 27th of April, 1861, he was mustered into the service as Major of the Third Ohio Volunteers. The regiment was sent to West Virginia, and there, under McClellan, took part in the battles of Rich Mountain and Cheat Mountain, Major Kieffer winning praise for his soldierly qualities. The regiment was then transferred to Kentucky and placed under the command of General Don Carlos Buell, where it took part in the battles of Bowling Green and Nashville. By that time Major Kieffer has been promoted to the Lieutenant Colonelcy of the regiment. This he resigned on being appointed Colonel of the One Hundred and Tenth Regiment of Ohio Volunteers.

With this regiment he was sent to the Shenandoah Valley to join the forces of General Milroy. It was at a time when Stonewall Jackson was making his foray into the Valley, and Colonel Kieffer took part in all the battles there, receiving three wounds. They were all severe but none severe enough to keep his from the field.

Transferred to the Army of the Potomac he took part in that most terrible of all battles, the three days' struggle in the wilderness, receiving another wound. When Early invaded Maryland in an effort to force Grant to loosen the grasp he held on Petersburg, Colonel Kieffer was sent with his regiment to join Sheridan. By that time he was in command of a brigade.

Oquecon, Fisher's Hill, Cedar Creek! Three battles always classed as among the most famous during the war. The first sent the Confederates "Whirling through Winchester," as Sheridan despatched to Grant; the second almost destroyed Early and his command; the third made Sheridan immortal for his ride from Winchester, "Twenty miles away." In the first two Colonel Kieffer fought his brigade with such judgment and courage as to win from Sheridan high praise. At Cedar

Creek he was in command of a division. It was one of the first organized troops Sheridan met on his famous ride. In his *Memoires* he says that when the division recognized him they gave a great shout, and without being ordered to do so turned and hastened back toward the camp from which they had been driven. Before dark settled down the federal army was once more back in its camp and the disheartened Confederates were in full retreat.

Back to the Army of the Patomac—December, 1864, found Colonel Kieffer, still in command of a division, back in front of Petersburg. There he took part in the assault on the outer defenses on the 25th of March, the assault which so plainly told to General Lee that the end was only a little way off.

Colonel Kieffer, having been brevetted a Brigadier General, was with Sheridan in the famous pursuit of Lee. It was at the battle of Sailors Creek he won his greatest fame. The battle was nearly over when General Kieffer received information that a body of troops were hidden from sight in a woods. Desiring to satisfy himself of their presence, and as to which army they belonged, he started out on a personal reconnaissance. Suddenly he found himself in the immediate presence of a large force. To turn his horse and endeavor to escape would be futile as he would be the target for a hundred muskets. His presence of mind did not leave him. It was too dark in the woods for them to recognize his uniform, and he took advantage of that circumstance, shouting out the word "Forward!" in a most confident tone.

His assurance won, for the force, which later was found to be a part of the Marine Corps of the Confederate navy, immediately advanced. He quickened the pace of his horse, and that quickened the pace of the marines. When they debouched from the woods it was still light enough in the opening for them to recognize his uniform. A howl of rage was his greeting, and several muskets were leveled at him. Their fire was prevented by some of the officers who were ready to honor the ruse that had been played, and to admire the quick action of mind that enabled him to carry it through.

By this time they were in the presence of Kieffer's division, and the Confederates, realizing the situation, at once surrendered. Among the captured party were several officers of high rank. Colonel Kieffer remained with the army until the surrender of Lee, and then took part in the grand review at Washington.

Peace having been reached, Mr. Kieffer returned to his Ohio home and resumed the practice of law, also engaging in the banking business, but he did not forsake his love for politics. He was offered a Lieutenant Colonelcy in the regular army, but declined it. In 1868 he was elected a member of the Ohio Senate and took part in the discussions of that body for two terms. In 1876 he was elected to the Forty-fifth Congress, and reelected to the Forty-sixth, Forty-seventh, and

Forty-eighth Congresses. The Forty-fifth Congress was a notable one. It was the one which followed the settlement of the Hayes-Tilden contest over the Presidency, and angry passions ruled each day. Mr. Kieffer was not ranked as a great orator, but he took an active part in the discussions of the various grave questions which came before the House. It was reported of him that he was specially active in committee work. He was a man of decided views, and never feared to give expression to them. He found in the House when he became a member a number of notable figures. Garfield, Blaine, Reed and Conkling were there, each trying to lead the party to which Kieffer gave adherence. On the Democratic side there were also several men who became a part of the history of the country. Elections in the Southern States were among the matters which stirred the public. Mr. Kieffer was one of those who believed that the Government having given freedom and the right of franchise to the black man it was in duty bound to see they were amply protected in their civil and political rights. For that purpose the armed forces of the United States should be employed whenever and wherever necessary.

He was at all times a strenuous advocate of that policy. He was persistent, sometimes rather pugnacious in enforcing his views on the House. His pertinacity in this direction won him many friends throughout the North, but there were a number of Republican Representatives who were willing to leave the whole matter to time. Mr. Kieffer was not of that class. To him the future would have perplexities of its own, and according to his theory of government each day should take care of its own evils.

Notwithstanding his persistency and aggressiveness in this matter he won many friends among his colleagues. They all recognized his sturdy honesty of purpose, and while differing with him they admired his persistency. In 1880 the Republicans managed to wrest the House of Representatives from the control of the Democrats. That party had been in the majority in the House for three Congresses, and had been under the leadership of Samuel J. Randall. When it became certain the Republicans would have a majority in the Forty-seventh Congress, candidates for the Speakership began to loom up. Among the most prominent of them were Thomas B. Reed, Frank Hiscock, of New York, and Julius Burrough, of Michigan. At first the name of Mr. Kieffer was mentioned only occasionally. As the time approached for holding the party caucus the thoughts of his colleagues began to turn more and more toward him. He won out after a sharp struggle.

Garfield, from his own State, had become President. His assassination followed shortly afterward. Speaker Kieffer introduced some new rules which were about as obnoxious to the members as were the famous Reed rules a few years later. He was in the Speaker's chair to make history, and he never faltered, never hesitated. The minority

assailed some of the revolutionary rules with savage fury. The Speaker was a soldier, and was fearless. It became current gossip during the contest over the rules that a plot was organized to throw him out of the chair by violence, and resist any and all efforts to again occupy it. The gossip reached the ears of General Kieffer, and it aroused all his fighting blood. The next morning he quietly armed himself, so the story goes, took the chair at the proper hour, and with a resounding rap of the gavel called the House to order. Before that morning his call for order had been in the mildest of tones, but all that was changed. It was the voice of a grim veteran accustomed to issuing commands that on that morning announced, "The House will be in order."

There was something so grim, so determined in the attitude of the Speaker that the plotters were overawed. After the adjournment that evening it was gleefully remarked by several members that there never had been so quiet, so peaceable a session of the House since it first met in 1789. One of the rules he introduced and enforced was really beneficial to the transaction of business by the House. Prior to his time it was the custom during the morning hour for members who had bills to introduce to rise in their seats and shout, in stentorian tones, "Mr. Speaker!" until they finally secured a recognition by him. One can readily imagine the confusion and riot of sound for a dozen men to be shouting to the Speaker at the same time.

Speaker Kieffer determined to put an end to such unruly scenes. He changed the order so that a quiet and orderly call of the roll of the States should be made, and as the name of the State was called, its members could present such bills, petitions, or resolutions as might be on their minds. It may sound rather funny at this date to say that this rule was assailed with the utmost vehemence by many of the members. It was their right by tradition and custom to strain their vocal organs with crying "Mr. Speaker!" and they opposed giving it up. Give it up they did, however, and the new rule soon became popular.

It has been changed since then. Now the member prepares his bill, endorses it with his name and the Committee which should consider it, and then tosses it over to the clerk. This is a vast saving of time and avoids confusion on the floor.

The Democrats obtained control of the House in the Forty-eighth Congress, and Mr. Kieffer was retired from the Speakership. He served on the floor during that Congress. At its close he retired to private life. He gave much time to writing several books, the most notable one being entitled "Slavery and Four Years of War." In that volume he gave his views as to the causes which led to the war between the States, and as to the results obtained. In some parts the language is of the most vigorous kind. Nowhere did he refrain from criticism when he thought criticism was needed. He had served dur-

ing the entire four years of the war, and had served with distinction. His experience had been such as to make him a judge of army movements and of the ability of those in command.

He was in retirement when the war with Spain came. Fired with his old martial spirit, he at once tendered his services to President McKinley, and was appointed a Major-General of volunteers. It is said that he was the only person in civil life from one of the Northern States or who had served in the Union army so honored. He commanded the United States forces that took possession of Havana in 1899.

After an absence of twenty years, Mr. Kieffer was sent back to the House of Representatives. He was then in his seventieth year, but was physically and mentally still in his prime. He returned to Congress to accomplish one thing, if he could. In his former congressional service he had been one of the most steadfast and earnest advocates of securing the political rights of the colored people in the South. They were counted when an enumeration was had to fix the basis for a Representative in Congress, but somehow or other they failed to vote, the result being that a much smaller vote would elect a member of Congress down there than was required in the North.

Mr. Kieffer's hobby when he reentered the House was to remedy all this. His remedy was to secure the enactment of legislation which would reduce the representation of the Southern States to the basis of their actual voting population. He failed. He served in the Fifty-ninth, Sixtieth, and Sixty-first Congresses, and once more returned to private life.

JOHN GRIFFIN CARLISLE

JOHN GRIFFIN CARLISLE—Speaker of the House of Representatives in the Forty-eighth, Forty-ninth, and Fiftieth Congresses. Born in Kenton County, Kentucky, September 5, 1835. Educated in rural schools. Married, January 15, 1857, Miss Mary Jane Goodson. Died in New York City, July 31, 1910.

When Kentucky makes up her roll of those who have served her well, the name of John G. Carlisle will have a prominent place. Eight years in the Kentucky Legislature, four years Lieutenant Governor of the State, twelve years in the National House of Representatives, three years a member of the United States Senate, and four years a member of the Cabinet make the period of his services to the public a period of almost a third of a century. In all places he served well.

John G. Carlisle was a farmer boy. His father was a farmer with a large family to support, and each, as soon as old enough, was expected to take a part of the labor necessary on the farm or in the home. Thus it was that young John at a very tender age began his labors. The

only school education he received was by attending the rural schools for brief periods. He was ambitious. He devoted himself during the days to work on the farm, and his nights to study.

At the age of seventeen he began the work of teaching, himself, but did not give up altogether the farm work. He industriously combined the two. Those who have tried it know that teaching a rural school is no easy task. Hard as it was young Carlisle applied himself to it with a determination to succeed. He did succeed. Years afterward he found among his most ardent supporters for political perferment many who had sat on the hard benches of the rural school house while he started them on the road to an education. After a time he found an opening as a teacher in Covington, and he removed to that city. There he taught, and there began the study of the law. It was hard work—teaching all day, and studying law half the night, but he did not shrink from the labor. He never faltered. His ambitions increased with the years. In 1858 his labors as a teacher ended, and his life as a practicing attorney began.

Admitted to the bar he quickly commanded a fair share of the litigation in the courts of Covington. By this time he had made his mark with the people and in 1859 he was elected to the Kentucky House of Representatives. Politically he was a Democrat, and as such almost at once began to take his place among the leaders of that party. While a member of the Kentucky House of Representatives secession became one of the leading issues. War, he felt, was sure to follow any attempt of a Southern State to withdraw from the Union, and he was not slow in placing himself on the side of the Union, and that position he steadfastly maintained throughout that long and bloody era which followed. He was a Southern man, born and grew to manhood where slavery was not only tolerated, but regarded as a divine institution, he did not yield to all the demands of its advocates and defenders for an extension of its domain.

He took an active interest in politics, and in all questions wherein the interests of the people were involved. After serving a term or two in the Kentucky Senate he was nominated by his party in 1871 for the office of Lieutenant Governor of the State. In the campaign which followed he canvassed nearly the whole State, winning a reputation as a speaker of much more than ordinary breadth and power. He had been a leader in the State Senate and now was to become one of the leaders of his party in the State. He took an active part in very campaign as a speaker and as one of the ablest in party councils. He believed in the fundamental principles of the Democratic party, yet was never a narrow partisan.

In 1876 he was elected to the Forty-fifth Congress. He was regularly reelected to the five succeeding Congresses. He entered Congress at the beginning of the administration of President Hayes, a time

when partyism was at fever heat. Samuel J. Randall was Speaker of the House of Representatives, and it was the aim of the Speaker to keep the tariff question on the side track. Speaker Randall was a protectionist of the Clay school. Mr. Carlisle was opposed to that system. One of his first speeches was in advocacy of a reform in the internal revenue system, a speech many have regarded as one of his greatest efforts. It was later used by the Democratic party as a campaign document. He also favored the upbuilding of the American merchant marine. His speech on that question was one of the ablest ever delivered in the House on the subject. Before the Forty-fifth Congress reached its constitutional limit Mr. Carlisle had taken his place as one of the leaders.

The Southern States had all been readjusted and new issues were springing up. One of the questions which troubled American politics for a number of years was that of making a broader use of silver as a coin of the realm. It resulted in enacting what became known as the "Bland-Allison Coinage Bill." This bill provided that the Secretary of the Treasury should purchase each month at least \$2,000,000 worth of silver bullion, to be coined into silver dollars of 412½ grains each. The Secretary was required to purchase at least \$2,000,000 of bullion, but might at his option increase the purchases to \$4,000,000. The bill passed both Houses, but was vetoed by President Hayes. It was then passed over his veto and became a law. Mr. Carlisle took an active part in the debates on the bill, and was recognized by the advocates of silver as an eloquent and able defender of the use of silver as a circulating medium. When he became a member of President Cleveland's Cabinet as Secretary of the Treasury, he had a change of heart.

The Bland-Allison bill had been changed somewhat before that time. The clause as to the purchase of bullion was retained, but the coinage into dollars was stopped. Secretary Carlisle found the operation of the act had played havoc with the "free gold" in the treasury, and that it was manifest the country would be forced to go to a silver basis unless gold was secured.

He proposed an issue of bonds to get gold, and contracted with a syndicate of bankers to take the issue at a little above par. In a little time the bonds advanced to a much higher figure. A second issue was proposed, and the attempt to dispose of them in the same manner caused much adverse criticism in the newspapers and among members of Congress. Secretary Carlisle was the butt of severe animadversions on his conduct in disposal of the first issue, and at last the new issue was offered to the public, and was quickly absorbed. He became an advocate of the gold standard, and during the campaign of 1896, when the free coinage of silver with Mr. Bryan as the Democratic candidate were before the people, Mr. Carlisle supported Palmer and Buckner.

He attempted to make a gold speech in his home town, and was greeted with a shower of bad eggs.

There can be no question that Secretary Carlisle's issuance of bonds to maintain the gold in the treasury was a good thing for the country. Before the enactment of what is known as the Sherman purchasing act, about ninety per cent of the customs duties were paid in gold. Under the operation of that Act no gold, or very little, came to the treasury, yet gold had to be obtained if the credit of the Government was to be maintained. The only way to get the gold was to buy it, and the only way the Government had to purchase the gold was by the issuing of bonds. To this Secretary Carlisle steadfastly stood, and he was supported in this attitude by the President. A commercial panic followed, but it did not cause the Secretary to change his plan.

Mr. Carlisle could well lay claim to statesmanship. It is true he was not a great constructive statesman, as John Adams, Alexander Hamilton and James Madison were. He did not possess the glorious idealism as to the rights of the people, and their ability for self-government which made Jefferson famous. He did not possess the knowledge and ability for handling perplexing affairs with foreign nations, as did John Quincy Adams, Richard Olney and Charles Evans Hughes, nor was he the equal of Hamilton, Gallatin, Crawford and McCulloch as a great minister of finance, but he was a statesman of that class which could, when the occasion arose, marshal the whole country in view and determine what was best for all the interests of the country.

It was that characteristic that caused him to change his attitude on the silver question. The change brought on him many anathemas from those who had formerly been his friends. Yet all that did not move him. He saw in the Sherman Act a measure bringing financial ruin to the business interests of the country, and he stood steadfastly for its repeal. It can be said of Mr. Carlisle that he was an honest statesman—honest to his convictions of what was best for the country as a whole.

He was as firm an advocate of tariff reform as any of his party colleagues, yet was not as rabid as some of them. His speeches on the tariff question were models of argument, and were based on what he believed to be reliable statistics. He had long been a student of that question, and it had no abler defender than Mr. Carlisle while he was a member of the House. He was regarded by his fellow members as one of the ablest lawyers in the House, and when he discussed constitutional questions, as he often did, he commanded the closest attention from men of all parties.

When the Forty-eighth Congress assembled the Democrats had an overwhelming majority, and they could work their will without a serious obstacle. Mr. Randall was again a candidate before the party caucus for the nomination as Speaker. He had served three terms, and

had been succeeded by J. Warren Kieffer, a Republican. He was a thorough-going protectionist, while his party had declared for a tariff reform where the revision was to be downward. Personally all the Democratic members of the House were his friends, but the tariff question overshadowed everything. As Speaker during the three terms he had proved to be one of the ablest who had ever occupied the Chair, yet the sentiment for a downward revision of the tariff caused many of the members to oppose his selection. They turned to Carlisle as the one most likely to succeed. The contest was sharp, and it required several ballots in the caucus before a selection was made, Carlisle proving the winner.

He was twice reelected, and throughout the three terms won the respect of his political foes and the devoted allegiance of his party friends. He was a partisan, but his partisanship never led him to an unjust ruling. He selected for Chairman of the great Committee on Ways and Means Representative Morrison, of Illinois. It resulted in the presentation of what is known in political history as the Morrison Tariff Reform Bill. By it the duties were lowered all along the line, and the free list greatly extended. Mr. Randall was able to defeat it, however.

Mr. Carlisle's knowledge of parliamentary law was extensive and he was able to sustain by precedents any of his rulings which were disputed. He was suave, courteous, and kindly to all, especially to new members. He has a right to be classed among the great Speakers. He was always dignified and patient. The death of Senator Beck opened the way for Mr. Carlisle to enter what we often term the Upper House of Congress. He took his seat in the Senate May 25, 1890. It was while Benjamin Harrison was President. Under Mr. Cleveland the Democrats had succeeded in enacting a low tariff law, and the Republicans who had obtained control were endeavoring to upset the existing schedule.

The noted McKinley bill was then being pushed forward. Mr. Carlisle at once placed himself among its opponents, and his speech against it was classed as one of the ablest delivered during the controversy. It was used by his party as a campaign document in 1892, and had great effect in many parts of the country. He remained in the Senate until he was called to a seat in President Cleveland's Cabinet as Secretary of the Treasury. His conduct of that great department of the Government has already been noticed.

In 1897 he retired to private life, retired a poor man. He had given a third of a century to the service of the public. He was getting to be an old man, and he felt it time to do something toward earning more than the pittance then paid to those who served the people. He was an able lawyer, and at once commanded a lucrative practice.

It was indeed his farewell to political life, but not a final farewell

to his interest in politics, and in all that was good for the Government and the people. His popularity with the people of Kentucky was not diminished, although it had suffered a temporary cloud owing to his attitude on the silver question. Even those who had then so viciously denounced him came once more to regard his honesty of purpose, and to do honor to his great abilities.

THOMAS BRACKETT REED

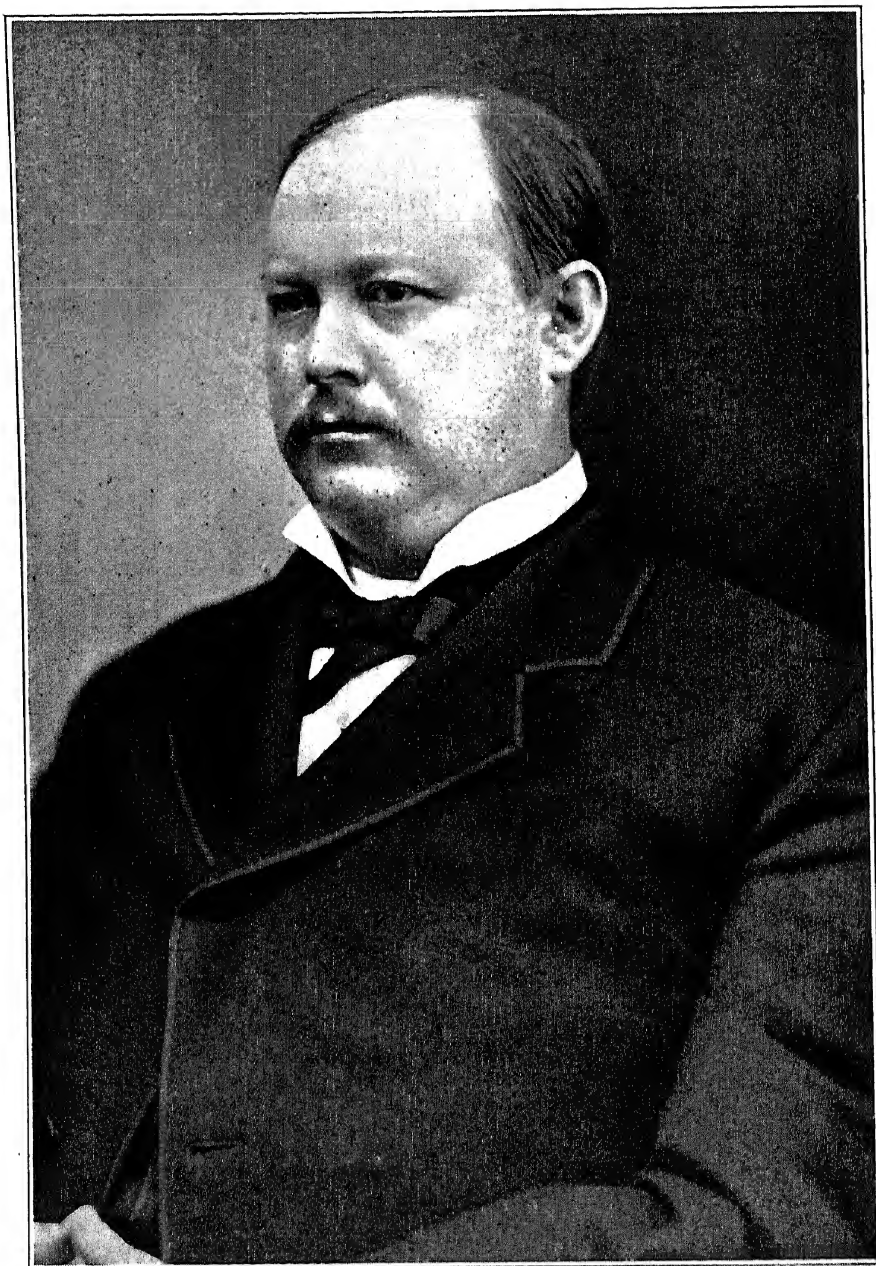
THOMAS BRACKETT REED—Speaker of the House of Representatives in the Fifty-first, Fifty-fourth, and Fifty-fifth Congresses. Born in Portland, Maine, October 18, 1839. Son of Thomas B. and Matilda P. (Mitchell) Reed. Educated at Bowdoin College. Died in Washington, D. C., December 7, 1902.

Twelve times elected to the House of Representatives, serving three terms as Speaker, Thomas Brackett Reed had a most memorable career. He had held several offices under the State before he became a member of the House. In fact, he was in office almost his entire life after reaching maturity. He served Maine in its House of Representatives, and Senate, and as Attorney General, and was three years City Solicitor for Portland.

He was first sent to Congress in 1877 as a member of the Forty-fifth Congress. He was reelected to the eleven succeeding Congresses. He was the caucus nominee of his party for the Speakership seven times, and defeated four times out of the seven races. No other Speaker who has served the House ever had so stormy a career as did Reed. In his first term the House was in almost continuous riot, yet through it all the Speaker calmly held his iron rule. Nothing seemed to disturb his equanimity, nor cause him to raise his voice from its peculiar softness.

Under the rules of the House prevailing at the time of his first election as Speaker, a minority could place an absolute veto on all legislation, except in cases where the majority was strong enough in numbers to always command a quorum. This condition was almost intolerable, and Mr. Reed determined to break it up. He was an able, aggressive man by nature. He mapped out the course he intended to pursue and laid it before some of his party friends. They desired its success, but did not believe he could accomplish what he desired.

For six years the Republicans had been out of power in the House, but won a majority in the Fifty-first Congress. Mr. Reed was nominated by the Republicans for Speaker, and he was elected over John G. Carlisle by a vote of 166 to 154. The Republicans had a majority of only twelve, and the large Democratic minority could, under the existing rules, block legislation at any and all times. The process followed was to suggest the absence of a quorum and demand a roll call.



THOMAS B. REED, Maine
Fifty-first, Fifty-fourth and Fifty-fifth Congresses

At the call the Republicans would respond, while the Democrats would sit silently in their seats. It was that custom Speaker Reed designed to break up. A riot followed day after day. Whenever a quorum failed to respond when a roll was called, Speaker Reed would order the clerk to record such names as he should mention, the names being those of members present but who had not answered. On the first attempt at this revolutionary proceeding many Democratic members rushed to the front of the Speaker's desk, denouncing him in the strongest terms at their command, but the Speaker was not disturbed. He was always ready to rule, and always ready with repartee which generally set his party friends and the galleries to a roar of laughter and applause. Let one scene suffice:

On the first occasion of thus counting a quorum the Speaker directed the clerk to record the name of Representative McCreary, of Kentucky. The gentleman from Kentucky sprang to his feet and denied the Speaker's right. Mr. Reed, in his smoothest and most dulcet tones, replied: "The Chair is making a statement of the fact that the gentleman from Kentucky is present. Does he deny it?" On one occasion an angry member of the minority party thus addressed the Chair:

"You are a tyrant to rule over this House or the members of this House in any such way, and I denounce you as the worst tyrant that ever presided over a deliberative body." This was mild to some of the things that were said of Mr. Reed, but he continued his method of making a quorum until the end of that Congress.

On another occasion, after epithets had been hurled at him from the Democratic side of the Hall for at least half an hour, Speaker Reed made the following statement in justification of his rulings:

The House will not allow itself to be deceived by epithets. The facts which have transpired during the last few days have transpired in the presence of this House and of a very large auditory. No man can describe the action and judgment of this Chair in language which will endure unless that description be true.

A man much more famous than any in this hall said, many years ago, that nobody could write him down but himself. Nobody can talk any member of this House down except himself.

Whatever is done has been done in the face of the world and is subject to its discriminating judgment. The proceedings of the House, so far as the Chair is concerned, have been orderly, suitable, in conformity to the rules of parliamentary laws, and the refusal of the Chair to entertain the motion to adjourn at this juncture is strictly in accordance therewith.

There is no possible way by which the orderly methods of parliamentary procedure can be used to stop legislation. The object of a parliamentary body is action, and not stoppage of action. Hence, if any member or set of members undertake to oppose the orderly progress of business, even by the use of the ordinarily recognized parliamentary motions, it is the right of the majority to refuse to have those motions entertained, and to cause the public business to proceed.

Primarily, the organ of the House is the man elected to the Speakership. It is his duty in a clear case, recognizing the situation, to endeavor to carry out the

wishes and desires of the majority of the body which he represents. Whenever it becomes apparent that the ordinary and proper parliamentary motions are being used solely for purposes of delay and obstruction; when members break in an unprecedented way over the rule in regard to the reading of the Journal; when a gentleman steps down to the front, amid the applause of his associates on the floor, and announces that it is his intention to make opposition in every direction, it then becomes apparent to the House and to the community what the purpose is. It is the duty of the occupant of the Speaker's Chair to take, under parliamentary law, the proper course with regard to such matters, and in order that there might not be any misunderstanding as to whether or not it is the wish or desire of the majority of the House—apparent as it seems to be—the question of appeal from the refusal of the Chair to entertain the motion will be put to the House for its judgment and determination.

From this statement it would seem that Speaker Reed had one object only, to expedite the business of legislation, for, as far as the record discloses, there was nothing partisan in his manner. He finally wore out the opposition, and they, in a measure, ceased efforts to cause delay. His vindication came in the Fifty-second Congress. In that Congress the Democrats had a majority. Mr. Crisp was elected Speaker. He had been one of the most earnest protestants against Mr. Reed's methods. Now Mr. Reed was to get his opportunity to turn the tables. He was a master of parliamentary strategy, and from the floor kept Speaker Crisp and his party in a hot bath. He applied all the known methods of obstruction until, in self-protection, the Democrats were forced to adopt the rule of quorum counting and of refusing to entertain motions made for delay only that they had so bitterly condemned in the Fifty-first Congress. It was a great day of triumph for Mr. Reed, and his remarks were full of stings.

In the Fifty-fourth Congress the Republicans were again in the ascendent in the House, and Mr. Reed was again elected Speaker, as he was in the Fifty-fifth Congress. By the time he again took his seat in the Speaker's Chair the House and the country had become accustomed to the change in methods of procedure he had introduced in the Fifty-first Congress, and there was not so much friction as had been formerly experienced. Champ Clark, himself one of the great Speakers of the House, called Reed "That masterful man," and says he accomplished a great revolution in parliamentary procedure, and that he "was far and away the most brilliant figure in American politics. He did much to bring order out of chaos and to expedite the transaction of business, and for this deserves well."

He served twenty-four years in the House, and they were years of activity. His power in debate and his earnest Republicanism were recognized almost from his first session. He was gifted with a readiness of repartee, and his repartee was often tintured with gall and wormwood. He did not always spare his political friends, but frequently offended some one by this dangerous penchant. One writer, a Washington correspondent who knew him well, thus wrote of him:

Reed's aphorisms and cynicisms are part of the political traditions of Washington, and many of his victims have been rescued from oblivion simply because they served as the targets of his scorching wit. For Mr. Reed's wit was never the gentle philosophy that stings but does not scar. It was always mordant. It scarred deep. The wound never quite healed. At the tip of the shaft lurked a tiny drop of poison that entered into the victim's veins and forever after destroyed his peace of mind. In the busiest hours of the day, in the still, small hours of the night, there would sweep over him, turning him hot and cold by turns, the recollection of that moment when Reed's barb smote him with all the lancinating pain of steel driven deep into the flesh, and the victim would grind his teeth in impotent fury and long for a day of revenge. But he knew he longed for the unattainable. The gods fear not mortals. Reed was beyond the arrows of his victims. No man ever engaged with him in a contest of wit and did not regret his temerity, and only fools rush in where angels fear to tread. Occasionally a new man, viewing himself through his local reputation, with all the reckless audacity of youth would hurl himself into the arena and challenge the knight of the caustic wit to mortal combat. On these occasions Mr. Reed never closed his visor. It would be lending too much dignity to his opponent to break a lance with him. Like a big dog who lays a puppy low with a single blow of his paw and calmly continued the enjoyment of the interrupted bone, Mr. Reed would fling out, in the most careless and drawling and indifferent manner, a flaming shaft of satire or ridicule that pierced the complacency of even the newest and most bumptious member and drown him under the jeers and laughter of the House.

For nearly the whole of his twenty-four years of congressional life he was a leader of his party. He was, in one sense of the word, a partisan, always with an eye to the advantage of his party, yet would not let his partyism overrule his judgment as to what was best. He did not agree with President McKinley on the Philippian question. He felt convinced that the United States should not enter the arena of imperialism. He held to the traditions of the fathers—fight shy of foreign complications. To take and hold possession of the Philippine Islands was certain, in his mind, to bring about complications with other countries that would breed endless troubles. His heart and mind was America, and America only.

He was ambitious. He looked for the day when his party would call him to lead it in a campaign for the presidency. He was disappointed, as many another ambitious man has been. McKinley got the nomination when Reed expected it would fall to him. He still hoped to be the successor of the Ohio statesman, but when McKinley fell at the hands of an assassin, placing Mr. Roosevelt in the lead, all hope abandoned him. He died a disappointed man.

In September, 1899, he suddenly resigned his seat in the House and moved to New York to engage in the practice of his profession. The only reason he ever gave to the public for this sudden retirement was that he felt the necessity of earning more money for the proper support of his family. He was a great lawyer, and knew he could soon command a clientelle that would remunerate him. He did not live long,

but in the few months he lived, demonstrated that he had not overestimated his powers to command a practice.

Mr. Reed was a man of great intellectuality, and had a thorough knowledge on all public questions, which would have made him formidable in debate had not his overpowering propensity to use sarcasm and to utter bitter things weakened the effect of his argument. He would say bitter things when there was no occasion. He could not resist the temptation when an opening occurred. His sarcasms were always accompanied by a sneer in tone and in manner which made what he said offensive, even when the words otherwise would have only produced laughter. Here is one illustration. Mr. Springer, of Illinois, was one of the strong men of the House, never offending against its rules, or using words that would offend. In the course of a speech on one occasion he happened to say: "I would rather be right than be President." Mr. Reed at once interjected: "Mr. Speaker, don't let that worry you; he will never be either." There was no occasion for Mr. Reed to make any remark, but he could not resist the temptation. The words were harmless, but the sneer in his tone rankled in the breast of his victim, and Mr. Springer was added to those who disliked the man from Maine.

In discussing any subject he took special delight in taunting his opponents. The House in the Fifty-third Congress passed a tariff bill that met the favor of President Cleveland. It went to the Senate, and was there battered and bruised until its friends could not recognize it. As was the rule, a joint committee undertook to reconcile the differences between the two Houses. The Senate forced its will on the House members of the committee. It was one of Reed's opportunities. He took advantage of it. He said:

The job you have got to do is such that the sooner you get over it the better you will feel. You realize how distasteful and dissatisfying all this is, and you put into the order some trimmings. You are satisfied that what you are going to do needs seasoning, and you propose to garnish it with suitable seasoning, too. You are going to enact a bill which you believe not to be an honest bill, and you are going to accompany it with a parade which you know is not honest.

You are going to give us free sugar—yes, in your minds. You are going to give us free coal—oh, my friends. And then you are going to give us free iron, and you are going to do it in a manly way, like the backdown you are making here. You fear that a bill for free sugar will be contaminated by passing through a committee which may have become an appendage of another portion of what has been discovered to be the legislative branch of this Government. You are going to march free coal over the dead bodies of the Ways and Means Committee. You are going to give an hour on a side to discussing six hundred amendments, no one of which has been touched by this House, one-tenth of a second for each amendment. How do you like the whole program?

It is unfortunate for the gentleman from West Virginia that he and his compatriots have had to contend with gentlemen of much more capacity and skill. Undoubtedly the House conferees meant well, undoubtedly their intentions were honorable; but they were no match for the gentlemen whom they met in the other

branch. They were not skilled as those men are. Why, our conferees came back to us without as much as the name of the bill they transported across the building a month ago. It will be known in history as the Gorman-Brice Bill, vice the Wilson Bill, dead. Aye, dead on the field of dishonor.

On all great questions which came before the House, Mr. Reed took an active part in the discussion. He was especially effective in what is termed the five-minute discussions. His information upon all subjects of legislation was full and comprehensive. His manner was aggressive, and usually aggravating. During his long service in the House before he became Speaker he served on several important committees, and it was in the committee room his influence was felt. He gave shape to much of the legislation when his party was in the majority. He did not oppose the war with Spain, but was antagonistic to the McKinley program after the war was over.

After the ambition to be President fastened upon him, ill-feeling between him and Mr. Blaine sprang up. Reed wanted the nomination in 1892, but Blaine's entrance into the race forced Reed out of it. He also had a disagreement with President Harrison over some appointments in Maine. The President listened to Blaine, his Secretary of State, and not to Speaker Reed; hence, the Speaker became angry at the President and the Secretary. He frequently affirmed that had Blaine kept out of the race in 1892 he could have carried off the nomination from Harrison, and was full of the belief that had he been nominated he would have been elected instead of Mr. Cleveland. He was dissatisfied in 1896 that he was not nominated instead of Mr. McKinley, but he gave Mr. McKinley his support during the campaign.

It was while he was Speaker that he placed Mr. McKinley at the head of the great Committee on Ways and Means, a position that gave McKinley the opportunity to make for himself the reputation which finally swept him into the White House. As Speaker he made judicious selections on all the important committees, and in that was more successful than several of those who preceded him in that high office, and also of some who followed him. It is in the committee rooms that the major work of legislation is perfected, and when, under the rules, the Speaker had the naming of the committee members, his power over legislation was almost supreme.

He was remarkable for his clear use of English. At college he took the high honor for excellency in English composition. Leaving college he gave four years to teaching, occupying his leisure hours in studying law. He became so well recognized as a teacher that he reached the grade of instructor in the Portland High School. About that time the war between the States called for the young men of the North to rally to the defense of the Union. Young Reed responded and was made Assistant Paymaster in the Navy. At the close of the war he returned to Portland and was admitted to the bar. In 1867 he was

elected a member of the Maine House of Representatives, and served two terms. He was then elected to the State Senate, and while a member of that body was made Attorney General of the State. This office he resigned in 1873 to accept the position of City Solicitor for Portland.

All this time he took a deep interest in politics. He was ambitious, and feeling there was advancement ahead of him, kept an eye always on the public. In 1876 he was sent to Congress. The Hayes administration was just coming into power, with all the political troubles it brought to the Republican party. At that time there was a great raft of claims before Congress, rising out of the Civil War. One of the most famous cases was that of William and Mary College. A large sum was demanded for damages done during the war. When this claim came up for consideration, Mr. Reed made his first mark and scored his first triumph as a congressional debater.

He was one of the committee sent to investigate the election of Mr. Hayes, and on the floor of the House vigorously defended the use of United States marshals at the polls in the Southern States. He soon pushed forward into the first line of leaders of the Republican party in the House, but was not always in accord with the administration. He gave his influence as Speaker against the resolution of war with Spain, and strenuously opposed the annexation of Porto Rico and the Philippines. But all that did not lessen him in the favor of his party. He was reelected to the Fifty-sixth Congress, but resigned without taking his seat.

CHARLES FREDERICK CRISP

CHARLES FREDERICK CRISP—Speaker of the House of Representatives in the Fifty-second and Fifty-third Congresses. Born in Sheffield, England, January 29, 1845. Son of William H. and Elizabeth Crisp. Common school education. Married, September, 1867, Miss Clara Bell Burton. Died in Atlanta, Georgia, October 23, 1896. Buried in Americus, Georgia.

“A great public career has ended. One of the foremost public men of our country has been stricken down. One of the greatest parliamentary leaders of this age is no more. One of the shining lights of this House, whose splendid achievements have and ever will shed luster upon it, is no longer with us. The recognized leader of this side of the House, who counseled and directed us, has departed and left us to mourn a loss which is irreparable. A great heart, warm, generous, kind, and magnetic, no longer pulsates. A mind, clear, strong, and masculine, of great depth and grasp, no longer gives us its scintillations of thought. A tongue of great eloquence and power, which has so often stirred and swayed this House, is now silent in death. A life in

which can be traced much of shadow and shine, much of privation and much of triumph, inspiring in its success over difficulties, admirable in development and attained proportions, has terminated."

Such was Charles Frederick Crisp, as he was described by Representative Swanson on the day the House met in memory of him who had for so long been one of the leading members. It is a fair picture of the mental attainments of Mr. Crisp, and is not overdrawn, as his colleagues were unanimous in agreement. As a rule leadership in the House is a plant of slow growth, but Mr. Crisp, as the record discloses, reached the leadership of his party at a very early period of his congressional life. It was a leadership earned by superior abilities as a counselor and as a director.

Both the father and mother of Mr. Crisp belonged to the theatrical profession, and enjoyed an enviable reputation. His brothers and sisters also followed in that profession, but Charles chose a different life. He was not a year old when his parents removed to America, choosing Savannah, Ga., as their home. There young Charles laid the foundation of an education as an attendant on the common schools. It was at a troublous time. Slavery was the absorbing topic, not in political circles alone, but it had invaded the churches, the school houses and other institutions of learning. Amid all this excitement young Crisp closely gave his mind to securing what education he could. It was not for long, however, for soon the storm of war burst, involving the whole country, and the English-born youth threw in his lot with the South, and, although scarcely sixteen years of age, enlisted, serving until he was captured and sent to the North as a prisoner of war. He must have served well for he held the rank of First Lieutenant at the time of his capture.

He remained a prisoner of war until the surrender of the South brought the bloody conflict to an end. He had no large patrimony to fall back upon, but that did not greatly disturb him. He was full of ambition, and what was better, he was full of determination to succeed in life. His choice of a vocation was the practice of law. So intense was his application, and so acute was his grasp of mind that he was able in one year to master enough of that science to secure admission to practice.

His success was immediate. He began the practice in Ellaville, and in 1872 he was appointed solicitor-general for the judicial district in which Ellaville was situated. This appointment was to fill a vacancy, but his success was such that the next year he was appointed for a full term. It was then but a short step to a judgeship, and in 1877 he was made a judge of the Superior Court of the circuit. He served on the bench for five years, winning the high respect and confidence of the members of the bar, and of the public generally.

The testimony of those who practiced before him was that his mind

was eminently judicial, and that his judgments were always based on justice. At that time Georgia was fast recovering from the disasters of the war, and many important questions were frequently before the courts, some of them involving the rights of the race that had lately been freed from slavery. In some places the feeling against the emancipated race was intense, and it may occasionally have influenced the courts, but so far as the record goes Judge Crisp never permitted that hostile feeling to sway him.

He was elected to the Forty-eighth, and the six succeeding Congresses. He was a Democrat in political faith. He was but thirty-seven years of age, but had already given ten years to the service of the public. He was to enter upon a career that eventually gave him a national reputation, and to see him elevated to the second highest office in the Republic. Fourteen years as a Representative in Congress; for twelve of those fourteen the acknowledged leader of his party, and for four of them as Speaker. The people of his State had just honored him with an election, by a very large majority, to a seat in the Senate, when death came to him.

It would be impossible in a sketch short as this must of necessity be to follow him closely through his congressional career. He had not completed his first term when he was accorded by his party colleagues a place among the leaders. John G. Carlisle was Speaker of the House. Speaker Carlisle was an acute politician, quick to recognize the qualities of those with whom he came in contact. He saw in the new member from Georgia the qualities which go to make a leader, and he advanced him in committee assignments to such positions as to furnish him abundant opportunities to prove his worth.

His first notable achievement was his report on the bill to establish the Interstate Commerce Commission, and his defense of that measure. Those who have read the history of that important branch of the government administration will recall the long and bitter contest in the House and Senate over the measure providing for the Commission. In the House the direction of its proponents was left to Mr. Crisp. He was then serving his second term, and the fact that he was given the leadership on this important measure shows how quickly he had moved toward the front in the counsels of his party. The debate in the House was long and earnest. Representative Crisp displayed great parliamentary skill in defending the measure against the assaults of its opponents. He met the arguments of the other side in a masterly manner, developing unexpected powers as a debater.

His aggressiveness in debate was exemplified during the discussion in the Fifty-first Congress of what was styled "The Force Bill." The bill was aimed to extend the authority of the Government over elections. It was especially aimed at the South. Mr. Crisp was one of its most determined assailants, and used all his powers of oratory, and his

skill as a parliamentarian to defeat it. The bill finally passed the House, but was defeated in the Senate.

What would a Congress be without a tariff discussion? The tariff is one of the issues that never goes into hiding. One of the tariff measures during Mr. Crisp's service in the House was the well-known McKinley bill. It was a tariff revision distinctively upward. The Democrats desired a revision definitely downward in tendency. The debate was long in the House. Every parliamentary trick known to the members was resorted to, so it became a contest of parliamentary skill as well as of oratory. The friends of the bill finally triumphed. The bill became a law, resulted in the temporary suspension of the Republican party from power in the government, and then elevated its champion to the Presidency of the Republic. In all that long debate Mr. Crisp was one of the most active of the opponents of the bill.

Another important issue before Congress and the country at that time was that of the currency. The friends of silver were clamorous for a more extended use of that metal as a coin. Mr. Crisp was an earnest advocate of the free coinage of silver, and to that extent differed with many of the leaders of his party, among them being President Cleveland. The Fifty-first Congress was notable for the bitter fight to overthrow "Czar Reed" and his arbitrary method of counting a quorum. In this long and bitter parliamentary contest, which practically lasted from the first day of the first session to the last day of the last session of this memorable Congress, Mr. Crisp was ever in the fore front. It began over the consideration of a contested election. An extract or two from the Congressional Record concerning some phases of this long controversy will not be without interest to the general reader. One of the points raised by Mr. Crisp was that there had been no vote of the House on the question of consideration raised by him, and he appealed from the ruling of the Speaker:

The Speaker: The Chair declines to entertain the appeal.

Mr. Crisp: Will the Chair give a reason for declining?

The Speaker: The Chair gives as the reason the vote of the House.

Mr. Crisp: Today or yesterday?

The Speaker: The vote of the House taken just now.

Mr. Crisp: Why, Mr. Speaker, this question has not been before the House today until now. There has been no vote of the House today upon this question.

The Speaker: There has been a distinct vote of the House, sustaining the ruling of the Chair, that motions made for the purposes of delay are not in order.

Mr. Crisp: I deny that you have the right to determine the purpose of my motion.

The Speaker: The Chair does not undertake to determine the motives of the gentleman from Georgia.

Mr. Crisp: But you do undertake to determine the motive of my motion when you say that the vote of the House, deciding that a certain other motion was dilatory, affects the motion I have made.

The Speaker: The Chair thinks it is perfectly apparent. Nobody can doubt what the situation is.

Mr. Crisp: The opinion of the Chair is not of any value to me. That is not the question. The opinion of the Chair cannot prevail as to what my motives are, and I appeal from your right to determine what my motives are.

The Speaker: The Chair has put the question to the House, fully stating the views that would govern the Chair in its conduct of business.

Mr. Crisp: The Chair has not.

The Speaker: The gentleman from Georgia (Mr. Crisp) cannot be ignorant of the scenes which have transpired under his own eyes and occurred within the sound of his own ears, and the gentleman from Georgia knows perfectly well that the action of the House has covered his case.

Mr. Crisp: The gentleman from Georgia does not know that, but the gentleman has no doubt that the presiding officer knows that the motion which the gentleman from Georgia makes is a proper parliamentary motion and that in every legislative body which has existence beyond one day it is within the power, and it is the right, of any member, when any measure is called up, to say: "I raise the question of consideration," which simply means, will the House now proceed to consider the question? And, although the House might have a satisfactory reason for considering a question, it does not follow that the same reason will exist tomorrow. Therefore, the motion which I have made is in order on every legislative day, and it has never been held otherwise in this Chamber. No precedent can be found for any such ruling as that which the Chair has just made.

The fight was on. The Speaker continued to decline to hear any motion he considered was dilatory in its effect. The fight continued during the entire term of Speaker Reed, and was revived when Mr. Crisp himself occupied the Chair. No one has ever conscientiously believed that under the rules of the House, as they stood at that time, the rulings of Speaker Reed were not arbitrary and revolutionary in form. But they proved to be so necessary to enable the House to transact business, that the rules were changed under the Speakership of Mr. Crisp, and quorum-counting became no longer necessary.

Mr. Crisp was an earnest partisan. He thoroughly believed that the political policies of the Democratic party were not only sound, but were for the best interest of all the people. In fact, if a man believes thoroughly in the rightfulness of any cause he naturally becomes a partisan in some degree. Partisanship does not of itself lead one to

acts of injustice to those who differ with him. So it was with Mr. Crisp. As ardent a partisan as he was, he ever yielded the right of others to differ with him. This he repeatedly exemplified in debates on the floor of the House, and in his rulings while Speaker.

When the returns from the election made it certain that the Democrats would control the House in the Fifty-second Congress, the question as to who was to be Speaker agitated the Democrats. Mr. Mills had been prominent in past counsels; had been chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means when Mr. Carlisle was Speaker, and that position had long been looked upon as the stepping stone to the Speaker's Chair. Mr. Crisp had been the recognized floor leader of the party during the preceding session. When the party caucus was held several names were presented, and it required two or three days to reach a conclusion. The caucus finally named Mr. Crisp as its candidate, and he was duly elected. He served two terms and was regarded at the time as one of the great Speakers the House has known, and later study of his administration has deepened that view. His first term was while Benjamin Harrison occupied the White House. His second term was under a President of his own party. As a Speaker he displayed his impartiality and his love of justice.

He early discovered, however, that the sweets of the Speakership could be made bitter to the taste. He had worried Mr. Reed when he was Speaker, and now Mr. Reed was to be the torment of his life. Much of the happiness of Mr. Reed's life consisted of his power to trouble the waters for someone else. He never had such a supreme moment of happiness as he experienced when he could torment Mr. Crisp. Much to the disappointment of Mr. Reed, he failed to seriously disturb the equanimity of the new Speaker. He was a torment, and doubtless Speaker Crisp often felt the sting aimed at him, but he never made that patent to the House by any unseemly display.

Mr. Crisp served two terms and then handed the Speakership back to Mr. Reed from whom he had wrested it. While he was Speaker the Governor of Georgia tendered him a seat in the United States Senate made vacant by the death of Senator Colquitt, but Mr. Crisp felt that his party required him to retain the Speakership. When he surrendered the Speakership he stood before the people of Georgia for an election to the Senate, and won the coveted seat against Hoke Smith. It was a notable triumph, but Mr. Crisp was not destined to enjoy its fruit, for death came to him before he could enter the Senate.

The education of Mr. Crisp was mostly what he gathered in the actual contact with the duties of life. As was said of him by one of his colleagues, he "was born to an inheritance of struggle, without the advantages of wealth or influence or great name, his native virtues, and these only, were the factors in the problem of his successful fortune. His education was only that of the common schools—the common

schools that so many times have been the grand universities productive of the highest type of American citizenship."

This education obtained in the common schools he supplemented by hard and close study as the years went by. Experience was to him a great teacher; the thoughts of others he studied with close attention; the books he read aided him in obtaining a large supply of learning. He was ever and at all times a student.

In the memorial services held by the House on receiving notice of the death of Mr. Crisp, Representative Catchings, of Mississippi, thus spoke of him: "The strong qualities which enabled him to grasp and retain the unchallenged leadership of his party in the House of Representatives, and which twice gave him the Speakership, manifested themselves in his boyhood, and steadily grew in potency and brilliancy up to the very hour of his death." Representative Richardson, of Tennessee, added this: "His was a changeless sincerity. He was never in disguise. He was the soul of honor. He had a contempt for everything low, mean, or sordid. Highly endowed as he was by nature and his own training with so many estimable traits, his influence over men was almost without limit. He had no compromises to make with that which was wrong, and held with tenacity to that which he believed to be right. He was warm-hearted, genial, and social in his nature. He enjoyed the companionship of friends, and made it both pleasant and agreeable for them to be with him. High-toned, manly and dignified in manner and conduct, he treated everyone, both low and high, in fashion becoming a gentleman, and expected like treatment in return. He was in every respect a most lovable man."

As a debater Mr. Crisp ranked among the strongest of his time. He sometimes bubbled over with humor, yet his propensity in that direction was never permitted to break the force of his argument. As a rule he was courteous to those against him, depending upon the logic of his argument to convince his hearers. He was especially strong when economic questions were under discussion. He was broad in his statesmanship and never permitted himself to be hampered by narrow sectional divisions.

His mind was eminently logical and judicial. He was never swayed by the purely sentimental. When he intended to join in a debate on any major question before the House, he carefully studied the subject, looking at it from every point of view. Possessing a thorough knowledge of the subject, he never felt fear or hesitancy in meeting the most able of the other side. Pure in his private life, sincere, honorable, upright in the services he gave to the public, he was of the highest type of American citizenship.

DAVID BREMNER HENDERSON

DAVID BREMNER HENDERSON—Speaker of the House of Representatives in the Fifty-sixth and Fifty-seventh Congresses. Born in Old Deer, Scotland, March 14, 1840. Son of Thomas and Barbara (Bremner) Henderson. Educated in the common schools and at the Upper Iowa University. Married, March 4, 1856, Miss Augusta A. Fox. Died at Dubuque, Iowa, February 25, 1906.

Born in Scotland, this distinguished Speaker of the House of Representatives was cut off from all opportunity to reach the highest office in this country; hence, was never troubled with the ambition that has proved so fatal to many American politicians. He was but a lad six years old when his parents came to the United States. They first settled in Winnebago county, Ill., but remained there only a few years. Their new choice of a home was in Fayette county, Iowa. There he attended the local schools, and finally entered the Upper Iowa University.

When the war between the States came, young Henderson promptly enlisted in the Union army. He served with Grant at Belmont, Fort Henry, and Fort Donelson, being seriously wounded at Fort Donelson. He recovered in time to take part in the siege of Corinth, where he lost a leg.

Returning to Iowa he studied law. He was appointed Collector of Internal Revenue for the Third Iowa district. He held this office until 1869, when he resigned to accept an appointment as United States Attorney for the District of Iowa. During his incumbency of this latter office he made many friends in all parts of the State, and won a high reputation as a campaign speaker. He resigned this office in 1871 and devoted himself to private practice. In 1880 he was elected to the Forty-eighth Congress, and was reelected to the succeeding nine Congresses.

On first entering Congress, Mr. Henderson did not loom up early as one of the leaders, but he slowly grew in the estimation of his colleagues until he was regarded as a promising candidate for Speaker. Mr. Reed, however, was the outstanding figure for Speaker, and as long as he remained in Congress he was sure of that position when the Republicans were in power; so it was not until Mr. Reed suddenly announced his intention to resign the seat in the Fifty-seventh Congress to which he had been elected that there came an opportunity for Mr. Henderson.

Even then it was not certain he would come off winner, as one or two others aspired to follow the "Czar." Mr. Henderson was early in the field, and after a sharp contest he won the caucus nomination. It was not an easy task to follow such a Speaker as Mr. Reed had proved himself to be. He was aggressive, forceful, wielding his power

with an iron hand. It is true that the House had grown somewhat restless under Mr. Reed's domination, and there were members of his own party who were willing to welcome a change.

Mr. Henderson determined not to follow closely in the footsteps of Mr. Reed, but to adopt a milder and more conciliatory course. Doubtless he was led to this because he recognized the humor of the House was changing in the direction of divesting the Speaker of some of the power he possessed over legislation. Of the situation and of Mr. Henderson's intentions, William Wolff Smith, a Washington correspondent, gives the following in a sketch of Mr. Henderson written for O. O. Stealey's "Twenty Years in the Press Gallery":

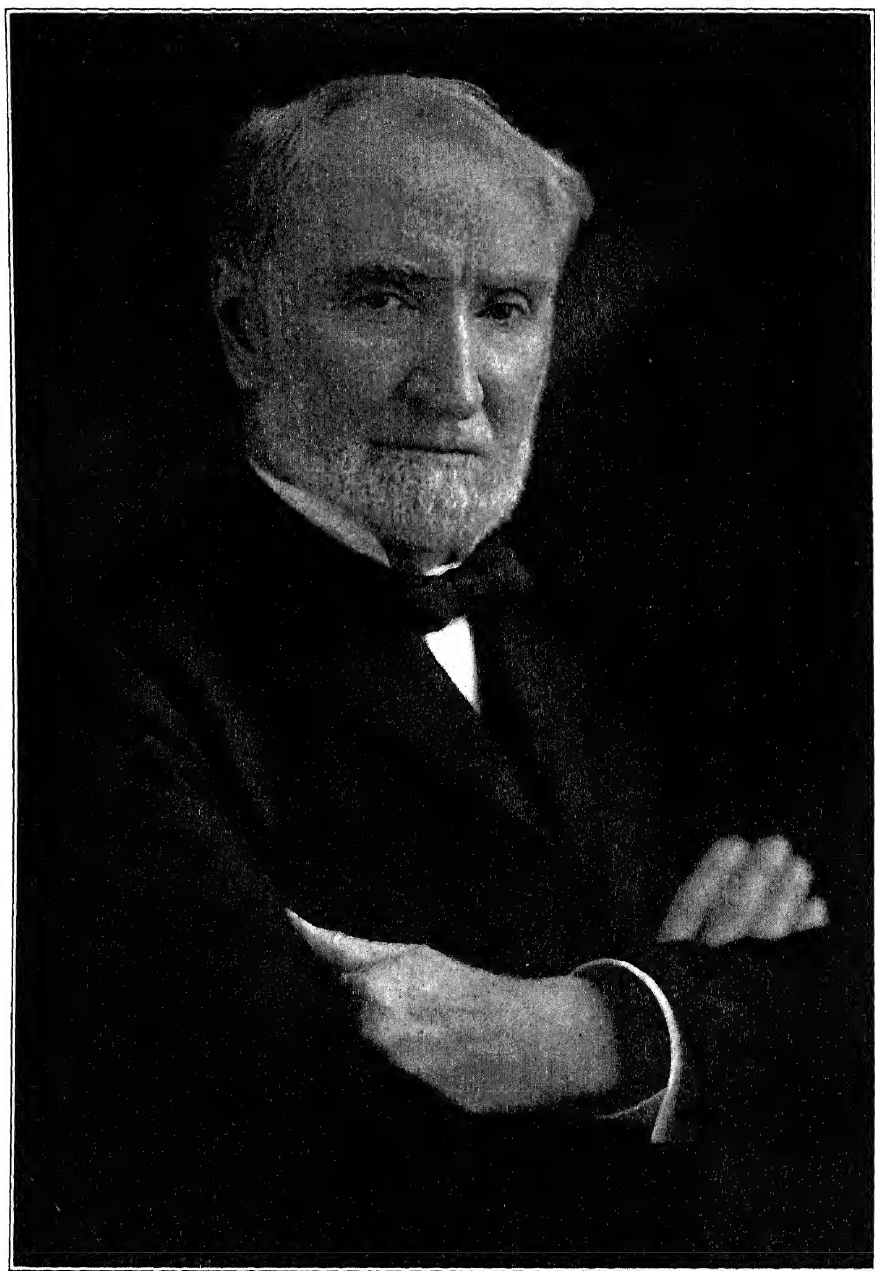
The House was ready to go to the other extreme and reduce the Speakership to the position of a mere presiding officer, as contemplated by the Constitution, and the power of the Committee on Rules was threatened, and even its abolition was urged. To restrain this reactionary movement toward self-government, with the turmoil attending the effort of three hundred and fifty members to have an equal voice in conducting public business, and at the same time to avoid the appearance of desiring to play the role of "Czar," was Henderson's task, and he was thoroughly cognizant of the fact that if he governed with a strong hand, he would be accused of aping his predecessor, while a departure from the established policy would be hailed as a sign of weakness.

So I gathered from my first interview with him after his election was certain, and this impression was confirmed later in many informal conversations. It was at the close of that interview he announced that he intended to avoid, if possible, all appearance of attempting to dictate to the House, and that he wished to be the servant rather than the master of that body. Whether he adhered to this policy may be open to question, but, in my opinion, he did so as far as circumstances permitted, although the appearances might have led to the contrary conclusion. . . .

Technically speaking, legislation in the House is in the hands of the three majority members of the Committee on Rules, the controlling influence naturally being that of the Speaker, who is chairman. But Henderson sought to indirectly restore power to the members without affecting the status of the Committee on Rules, or impairing its prestige or privileges as a court of last resort. This he undertook to do by organizing the chairmen of the committees into a sort of "Cabinet." . . .

An innovation which made a stir at the time, and which gave weight to the charge that he was attempting to "out-Czar" Reed, has a simple explanation, and the fact that it remains engrafted on the procedure of the House justifies the assumption that his action was correct. Reed maintained the pleasant fiction of recognizing members on the floor as they demanded recognition under the rule requiring them to arise and address the Chair. Thus his desk in the "morning hour" would be surrounded by a circle of members clamoring "Mr. Speaker!" in the hope of catching his eye. Reed would calmly survey the crowd and then recognize first one on one side, then one on the other, the whole proceedings having the semblance of being real. As a matter of fact, Mr. Reed had been privately sought beforehand and recognized only those with whom previous arrangements had been made.

When he came in, Mr. Henderson saw no reason for maintaining this pleasantry, and calmly notified the members that in the future they would arrange with him for recognition and he would grant it according to the schedule after the pro-



JOSEPH G. CANNON, Illinois
Fifty-eighth, Fifty-ninth, Sixtieth and Sixty-first Congresses

posed bills had been scanned and approved. The result was, the members remained in their seats and were decorously recognized in turn. While the effect was the same, yet the absence of the crowd around the desk ostensibly seeking recognition unpleasantly emphasized the control of the House by the Speaker through the exercise of the power of recognition.

He served four years as Speaker, and while there were some criticisms and some faultfinding, he retained his popularity with the members and was looked upon as a most genial presiding officer. While Speaker he took little part in the debates of the House, even when that body was in Committee of the Whole. In fact, he had never taken a very prominent place as a debater. His administration was clean, and very little tainted with partisanship. Personally, he was very popular with the members of the House and with the other official life in Washington. At the close of the Fifty-seventh Congress he suddenly, and without giving any reasons, declined a renomination as a member of the House.

JOSEPH GURNEY CANNON

JOSEPH GURNEY CANNON—Speaker of the House of Representatives in the Fifty-eighth, Fifty-ninth, Sixtieth and Sixty-first Congresses. Born in New Gardens, Guilford County, North Carolina, May 7, 1836. Son of Dr. Horace F. and Gullelman (Hollingsworth) Cannon. Common school education. Married in 1861, Miss Mary Scovel Reed. Died at Danville, Ill., March 12, 1926.

Of the several thousand men who at one time or another have occupied seats in the National House of Representatives, none was ever more deeply loved by his colleagues than was Joseph Gurney Cannon. There have been among the members of the House a number of men more brilliant than Mr. Cannon, many more learned, and others possessing greater oratorical powers, but not one with a greater capacity to love everybody, or with superior qualities to inspire love than the man who for more than forty years, with but one slight intermission of two years, held a seat as a member of the House of Representatives from an Illinois district.

What was written of Abou Ben Adhm could have been written of Joseph G. Cannon, or "Uncle Joe," as he was familiarly and lovingly called for so many years, "One who loves his fellow man." He was twenty-five times nominated for Representative in Congress by the people of one district. Of these he won twenty-three times, losing twice, one the first race he made, and the other in 1912, when the Republicans bolted from Mr. Taft. His constituents quickly repented and two years later sent him once more to represent them.

Although he was born in North Carolina, Mr. Cannon was, in all essential particulars, the product of the great Middle West, that section

which gave to the country so many great men, such as Abraham Lincoln, Stephen A. Douglas, David Davis, John A. Logan, Oliver P. Morton, Thomas A. Hendricks, U. S. Grant, Benjamin Harrison, Allen G. Thurman, Abram A. Garfield, John Sherman, William Howard Taft, and Warren G. Harding.

When Joseph was a lad his parents removed to Indiana, and there he began the life of toil as a clerk in a small store, and there he got his first school education. Later his parents removed to Illinois, locating at Tuscola. There Joseph studied law, and on being admitted to the bar began the practice of his profession, but later he removed to Danville, which was ever afterward his home. He was successful in two ways—winning a lucrative practice, and a popularity with the people. His first office was that of State's Attorney, an office he held for seven years.

He was elected to the Forty-third and the eight succeeding Congresses as a Republican. He was defeated for reelection to the Fifty-second Congress, but was a successful candidate for the Fifty-third, and to all succeeding Congresses to and including the Sixty-sixth. He was Speaker for four terms, and they were strenuous terms, finally resulting in a partial overthrow of the power of the Speaker by a change in the rules.

He was at all times a "Stalwart" Republican in politics, a "Stand-patter," as they were sometimes called. He believed in the political principles as taught and advocated by that party. He was a partisan, but while Speaker did not let partisanship run away with his sober judgment and love of impartial justice.

When he entered Congress General Grant was beginning his second term. He served under the administration of nine Presidents. During that long service many great questions were before Congress. The tariff is always there, but there have been important questions other than the tariff. The last days of reconstruction of the Southern States were passing when he began his congressional career. The public debt caused by the Civil War was to be taken care of, pensions for soldiers and sailors were to be provided. Then came the great controversy over the election of Hayes. On all these he stood with his party, taking frequent part in the debates, slowly forging to the front as one of the leaders. In those early days of his congressional life the currency was frequently a matter of dispute, and what was termed "Greenbackism" threatened for a time to sweep the country. Finally the money question was temporarily settled by a return to specie payments on the part of the Government.

With Mr. Cannon the honor of the country came first; its pledges to those who had purchased its bonds must be fully kept. Among other positions he held in the House was that of member of the Committee on Postoffices and Post Roads. As a member of that committee, and

chairman of one of its sub-committees, he performed meritorious services in the interests of the public. He rewrote the postal laws, making many and important changes in the existing system. He introduced the system of newspapers paying postage by the pound rate, thus relieving the subscriber from the annoyance of having to pay postage on each paper or magazine received. This new regulation gave an enormous impetus to the circulation of newspapers and magazines. It was, in fact, a remodeling of the postal service, making it what it was originally intended to be, the medium for the dissemination of knowledge.

He also rewrote the law against the circulation of obscene literature through the mails. In the same connection he barred, by law, the use of the mails to advance the sale of lottery tickets. These regulations he defended before the House in a series of short but pungent speeches. It may be said here that Mr. Cannon never indulged in lengthy speeches during his entire service in the House. He preferred short, snappy talks, in which he proved to be an adept. He always carefully prepared himself with facts, figures, and statistics on whatever subject he proposed to discuss, and then went at the matter in a business-like way. In the arguments on his new postal regulations he convinced the House that he was a foeman to be carefully handled.

When Mr. Randall became Speaker he changed his Committee on Appropriations so as to enable him to give Mr. Cannon a place on it. He had recognized the qualities of the Illinois member, and felt that on the Appropriations Committee he would do good service for the country. He was not disappointed. Mr. Cannon at once made himself familiar with the needs of each department—their needs, not their wants, for the wants of a Government department are endless. They are like the Horse Leech's daughters, continually crying, "Give! Give!" Their needs never equaled their wants. Mr. Cannon made himself fully aware of that fact, and made every effort to keep the appropriations down to their needs, ignoring their wants. Government departments are built on the order to spend money, and Congress "proposes," but the departments "disposes." Mr. Cannon later became chairman of that most important committee, and while he was disposed to deal liberally with the departments, he also desired to hold a check upon them, and finally did accomplish a great deal in that direction.

He was recognized by his colleagues as the best posted member regarding the supply bills. He was never called the "Watch-Dog of the Treasury," as was Holman, of Indiana, but he kept an active and intelligent eye on the funds of the treasury, and how they were to be used for the purposes of the government. It was another Democratic Speaker who gave him another place of importance. Speaker Carlisle placed him on the Rules Committee, where he was retained by Reed when that man of iron became Speaker. In the tariff debates that had

occurred with regularity whenever Congress was in session, Mr. Cannon had always taken a prominent part, and always supporting the views announced in the Republican platforms. He was an ardent friend of the protection theory, and kept himself fully posted as to the various schedules and items which came up for discussion.

On the Rules Committee under Speaker Reed he joined with McKinley in mapping out the tariff program which finally resulted in the adoption of the McKinley bill. He was the spokesman of the Committee on Rules in all the arguments before the House of the Fifty-first Congress, and well did he do his work. So well, in fact, as to secure the adoption of the rules offered without material change or amendment. He supported, most vigorously, Mr. Reed's quorum-counting program. It was this program which threw the House into bedlam, frequently reaching the verge of riot.

Under the old rules it frequently occurred that a minority was able to stop all legislation by sitting in their seats and refusing or declining to vote on a roll call, thus showing that no quorum was present. The story of how Speaker Reed, amid abuse and contumely, changed all that by simply counting those present, or enough of them to make a quorum, is well known to all readers of political history. It was a drastic departure from all previous actions, and was resisted with the utmost vehemence by the Democrats, but the Republican members stood by the Speaker, and after a time the new rule was accepted by both parties. In all this confusion Mr. Cannon was among the foremost supporters of the Speaker.

On one occasion, in replying to a speech by Mr. Crisp, Mr. Cannon made one of his most forcible speeches. He closed as follows:

"I say that a majority under the Constitution is entitled to legislate, and that, if a contrary practice has grown up, such practice is unrepubli- can, undemocratic, against sound policy, and contrary to the Constitution. And I am here to assist in upholding the Constitution. If the minority is to rule, the Republic has ceased to exist and in its place is an aristocracy.

"Sir, everywhere, from farm and factory, from school and college, sixty millions of people in the Republic join in the demand that, a quorum of the House being present, the American House of Representatives shall perform its function. Therefore, I shall vote to sustain the decision of the Speaker."

Mr. Cannon came to be recognized as an authority on all questions of finance that arose in debate, and he took an active part in all such debates. He was very close to President Benjamin Harrison, who often consulted with him, and relied largely upon his judgment on all financial matters. He thoroughly knew the history of all major legislation, and was a well of information to the President.

Silver was one of the absorbing questions from the date of the

repeal of the Sherman Purchasing Act. The friends of silver were determined to bring that metal into greater use as a coin, and they were not only shrewd, but they were industrious in propaganda work. In it they displayed a knowledge of political maneuvering which came near winning for them a great victory. In his second term, President Cleveland, ably seconded by Mr. Carlisle, his Secretary of the Treasury, was able to force a repeal of the Act requiring monthly purchases of bullion to be stored in the vaults of the treasury. This was a check, for the time, to the silver advocates, but they were not dismayed. The cry arose at once for the unlimited coinage of silver at the 16 to 1 ratio. On that issue the country went to the great political battle of 1896.

In that campaign Mr. Cannon did heroic work for his party, sustaining, with all his force, the single gold standard as declared by the Republicans. For a time it looked as if the silverites would win, and a financial panic was narrowly averted. Mr. Cannon was returned to his seat in the House by an increased majority. Mr. McKinley was hardly well settled in his seat as President before trouble with Spain loomed up.

This had been brewing during the administrations of Presidents Harrison and Cleveland, in his second term. In the agitation of the Cuban question Mr. Cannon was ranked as a conservative, even after the explosion which destroyed the United States man-of-war Maine, in the harbor at Havana. He did not want war; war was costly in blood and treasure, and he desired to avoid that dernier resort of nations. He was for maintaining the honor of the country, but hoped war might be avoided. When it came its success was largely accelerated by the action of the Committee on Appropriations under the leadership of Mr. Cannon.

The American merchant marine had almost wholly disappeared from the seas, and there were not enough American ships to transport the necessary troops to Cuba and the Philippines. Mr. Cannon reported a bill placing in the hands of the President \$50,000,000 for the purposes of national defense, including the purchase and arming of ships sailing under other than the American flag. The promptness with which the bill was reported and acted upon had a two-fold result. It enabled the Government to enter the struggle on fair terms, and at the same time was a warning to other nations against any interference on their part. In every question arising during the war Mr. Cannon was the earnest supporter of the President.

Having become involved in the war, he was ready to go the full length. Men and money he was ever ready to vote. He had but one object, to win, and to win at the speediest possible moment. In this he was no more patriotic than others in both political parties, but being at

the head of the Committee on Appropriations he had more opportunities to show his devotedness than fell to some of the others.

Of his course on all matters coming before the House, one who knew him well, and who had ample opportunity to watch his career, thus wrote: "Mr. Cannon never prepared a set speech on any great question which could be considered a great contribution to our political literature. And yet the pages of the Congressional Record for the last thirty years show that he was ever present and ever active in the debates on all great questions that came before the House of Representatives during those years. Mr. Cannon has always been a partisan and a fighter in Congress, but he has never carried his partisanship beyond the development of a party policy of government as to finance, revenue, and other essentials of government by party. And he has never opposed a good measure because it did not come from his party, or because it was backed by a political opponent. On the other hand, he has never looked to see whether friends or opponents were backing the bill which he regarded as vicious, for no personal or political friend could hold him back from fighting such a bill. It is this quality of fighting, on the part of Mr. Cannon, which won the confidence and approbation of all parties and all factions in Congress, which was so well exemplified on the closing day of the Fifty-eighth Congress, when all united in a demonstration of good will and fraternal remembrance by presenting him a 'Loving Cup' and the Thanks of the House of Representatives."

Mr. Cannon's name had been many times mentioned for the Speakership before he was finally nominated for that office by his party friends in the Fifty-eighth Congress. He had then been a member of the House for thirty consecutive years. During that service he had seen come to the White House: Grant, Hayes, Garfield, Arthur, Cleveland, Harrison, Cleveland again, and then McKinley and Roosevelt. What a procession of great men! He had served during the Speakership of Blaine, Kerr, Randall, Keifer, Carlisle, Reed, Crisp and Henderson, and now he was to occupy that exalted position for four terms.

In a number of respects they were strenuous terms, requiring all the tact and good humor of the Speaker to prevent serious outbreaks. Party politics ran high. It required but little to arouse the House to partisan warfare. Speaker Cannon had been through the great struggle of Speaker Reed to force the House to transact the business of the public, and through the fight which compelled the Democrats under the Speakership of Crisp to adopt the rules of Reed which they had fought with such vigor and angry passions, and was, before he finally left the Speaker's chair, to undergo one of his own. The contest referred to occurred in his last term, and brought about a disruption for the time of the Republican party, the defeat of Taft, and the election of Wilson as President.

This fight was engineered and directed by Champ Clark, one of the shrewdest politicians the House has ever counted among its members, and who was to follow Mr. Cannon in the Speakership for four terms. From the organization of the House in 1789 the Speaker had possessed the prerogative of naming the committees. It was a dangerous power, giving the Speaker a leverage by which he could almost dictate the legislation of the House. It had its drawbacks, for there were sure to be some disappointed ones, who would sulk through the session, thwarting the Speaker when that was possible. This disappointment had been growing under Reed and Cannon, and Mr. Clark, taking note of it, conceived he saw an opportunity to divide the Republicans into two permanent factions, which would inure to the benefit of the Democrats, if properly handled.

No better man could be found among the Democrats to give direction to this movement than Mr. Clark. He fostered the growing discontent among the Republicans, quietly declaring the rules ought to be changed in at least two important particulars. The power of appointing committee should be taken away from the Speaker, and he should be deprived of his place as chairman of the Committee on Rules. He consoled with the disappointed ones, but never let it be known to them that through their dissatisfaction he expected to work out a great victory for his party. When everything was ready and he had obtained the written pledge to stand by him of enough discontented Republicans to make success certain, he opened the fight.

It was, at times, a merry fight. At other times it was an angry dispute, but Mr. Clark clung to his appointed task. It went on for several days. It was called, by its advocates, "a fight against Cannonism," when, in fact, it was a fight against a condition that had existed from the first Congress. Enough of the "insurgents," as the Regulars called them, joined with the Democrats to overthrow the old order of things, and to change the Speaker to a mere presiding officer.

But that was not the end. As Mr. Clark had calculated, the revolting Republicans became so angered by the denunciations heaped upon them by the Regulars that they began forming a new party, calling themselves "Progressives." At first this was only a wing of the Republican party, but before harmony was once more established it had branched out into an independent party, nominating candidates for about all the offices, and fighting the regular organization with as much vigor as they did the Democrats.

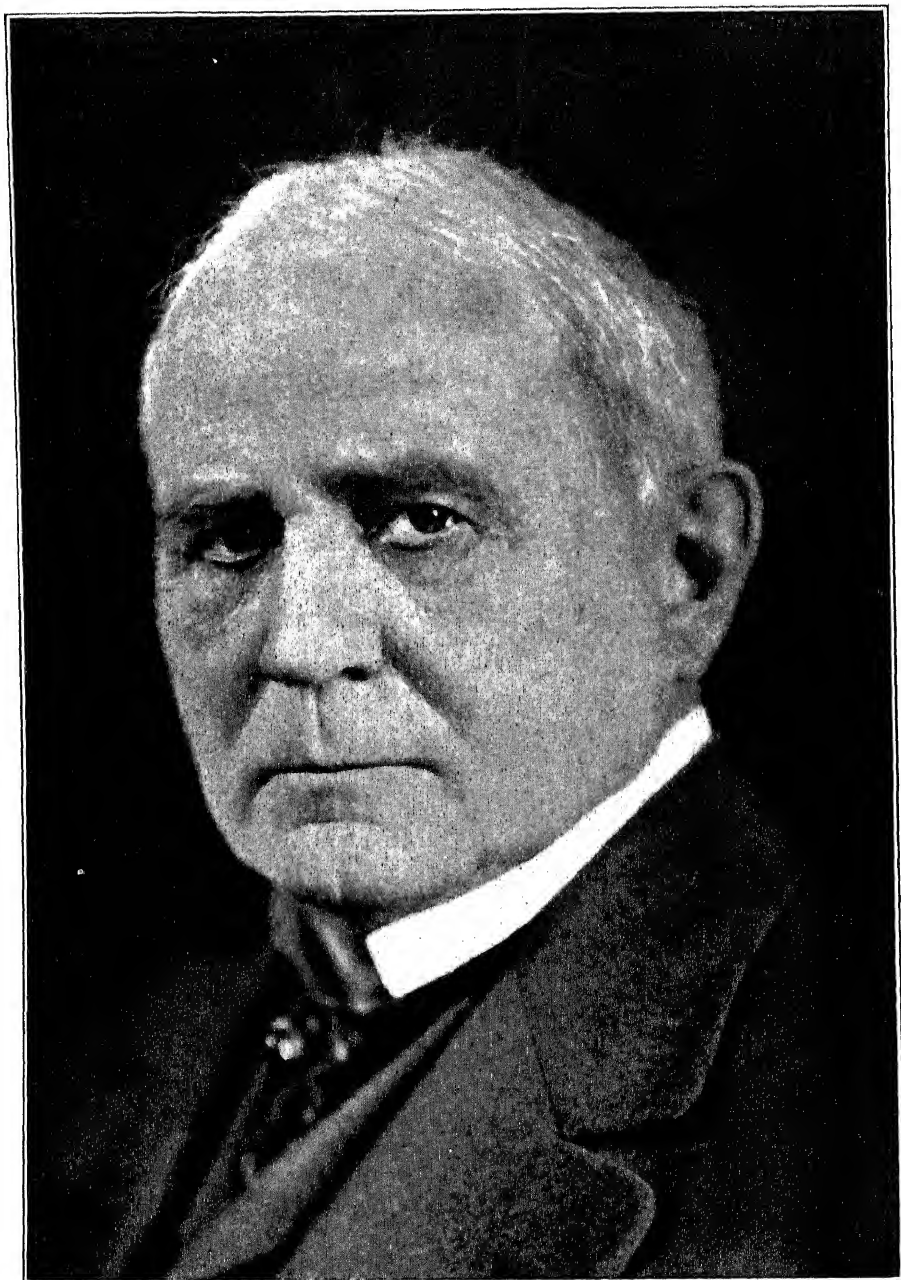
The rupture came to a head in the Republican National Convention of 1912. Taft was the candidate of the Regulars. The Progressives bolted and nominated Mr. Roosevelt. It resulted in an overwhelming victory for the Democrats. In one thing Mr. Clark was disappointed. He had fondly expected to be the recipient of the victory he had organized, but the coveted nomination went to Mr. Wilson.

Of Mr. Cannon's actions during the contest for a change in the rules Mr. Clark says: "It must, in ordinary justice, be written down that Mr. Speaker Cannon, throughout that bitter contest, bore himself with the utmost dignity and decorum, never appearing to better advantage in his life."

One result flowing from the maneuvering of Mr. Clark and the formation of the Progressive party remains to be noted. The Progressives ran candidates for Congress in a number of districts, among them being the district represented by Mr. Cannon. The fight made on him was very vindictive, resulting in dividing the Republican vote, letting in a Democrat. Two years later, however, Mr. Cannon was again triumphant. On the 7th of May, 1916, Mr. Cannon reached his eightieth birthday. It was made a great occasion by his colleagues. A great dinner was given him on the occasion, attended by every member of the House, and most of the Senators, also by high officials of the Government. Speeches were made and toasts given. Representative Rodenberg, one of his Illinois colleagues, among other things, said:

"If there be one man who has steadfastly pursued the path of public duty, and who, at all times and under all circumstances, in good and ill report, has had the superb courage to give expression to honest conviction, that man is he whom we delight to honor today, the grand old hero of a thousand legislative battles, Joseph G. Cannon, of Illinois."

A Congressional career of forty-five years is most remarkable, and when to its length can be added that no stain ever rested on his name, nor was his honesty ever challenged, it places Joseph Gurney Cannon among the great men of the country. As a legislator he was wise and prudent; as Speaker of the House he never let his partisanship control his rulings. He was uniformly courteous and kind, and when the fight came for the change in the rules, it was not a fight against Mr. Cannon, personally, but one against existing conditions which in a free country had become intolerable. The great change in the procedure in the House began when Speaker Reed insisted on counting a quorum, thereby compelling the House to transact the business before it, and when the Speaker was finally deprived of the power of naming the committees it placed the House far in advance as a legislative body.



CHAMP CLARK, Missouri
Sixty-second, Sixty-third, Sixty-fourth and Sixty-fifth Congresses

CHAMP CLARK

CHAMP CLARK—Speaker of the House of Representatives in the Sixty-second, Sixty-third, Sixty-fourth and Sixty-fifth Congresses. Born on a farm near Lawrenceburg, Kentucky, March 7, 1850. Son of John Hampton and Althea Jane (Beauchamp) Clark. Educated at Transylvania College, Kentucky, and Bethany College, Pennsylvania. Married December 14, 1881, Miss Genevieve Davis Bennett. Died in Washington, D. C., March 2, 1921.

In boyhood the lot of Champ Clark, one of the greatest of American legislators, was that of toil on the farm, while ambitious for steadily better things, yet he rose until he was four times chosen to the third highest office in the Government, and only through what he declared to be the "vile and malicious slanders" of another leader of his party failed to reach the highest office in the gift of the American people, for none can doubt that had he been nominated by the Democratic party in Baltimore in 1912 he would have been triumphantly elected President.

The name given him by his parents was James Beauchamp Clark. He reduced it himself to the form by which he is known in the history of the country. Of this he says in his most delightful book: "I made up my mind that I would not keep a name which was owned by so many other people. I first lopped off the 'James,' but that left me with a name which nobody but a Frenchman could pronounce correctly, and Americans pronounced it in half a dozen different ways, all wrong. I would have liked very much to retain it, as it was my mother's name. It means 'fair field' and is a beautiful name, but it could not be pronounced in this country correctly. By the way, Campbell is the same name as Beauchamp. Camp and Champ mean the same thing, being the old latin word *campus*, and belle is the feminine of beau. I cut Beauchamp in the middle and retained the last half."

His father was originally a carriage and buggy maker, but he made no effort to bring his young son up in that occupation. In his "Quarter Century of American Politics" he says of his father: "He was a good carriage and buggy maker, a good singingmaster, a good dentist, a good Democrat, a good Christian, a good citizen." As a business man he was not successful, so his children, of whom there were three, could receive but little help from him in securing an education. He assisted so far as he could, but that was only in a desultory way. Of him the subject of this sketch said: "If I have achieved anything worth mentioning in this life, I owe most of it to him, for he was constantly dinning into my ears: 'Get an education; take care of your health, develop your physical and mental constitution.'"

In the days when Clark was growing up Kentucky had no child-labor law, for it is recorded that his father hired him out to a farmer

when Champ was only eight years old. He worked on the farm for several years, getting what education he could, and at the same time developing physically and mentally. Clark grasped after learning, and eagerly read every book he could lay his hands on. Among the books, so he says, that his father obtained for him was Wirt's "Life of Patrick Henry." It is a book that has aroused the ambition of many a boy, and it did this with young Clark. "That book determined me," he says, "to be a lawyer and a Congressman before I had ever seen a lawyer, a law book, a courthouse, or a congressman."

He did become a lawyer, and a great lawyer; he became a Congressman, and one of the greatest the country has known. Reading that book led him to reading the Bible. In his "Quarter of a Century of American Politics" he says: "Of all the compliments ever paid me by the newspapers since I have been in Congress, the one I value most is to the effect that I quote the Bible more frequently and more accurately than any other public man in a quarter of a century." His father made him a present of a little book bound in red cloth, containing the Articles of Confederation, The Declaration of Independence, The Constitution of the United States, and Washington's Farewell Address. This little book he valued very highly. He said: "I believe that those three books—the Bible, Wirt's "Life of Patrick Henry," and my little red book—did more to influence my life than all the other books that I have read put together."

His farm work ended when he earned twenty-four dollars for twelve days' labor in harvest. He expended that money in going to school. It was during these parlous days in Kentucky when the people were divided, some fighting for the Union and some fighting for its destruction. Yet amid it all young Clark managed to pick up enough education to enable him to become a teacher at the age of fifteen. Labor on a farm during the summer and fall, teaching during the winter months, with some of his pupils older than himself, Clark never lost sight of the end he aimed at—to be a lawyer and a member of Congress.

After a time he was able to enter Transylvania College. Before this, however, he clerked in a store for a few months. Merchandising was not to his taste, and he soon gave up his employment. In 1867 he became a student at the university. He remained there for three years, teaching school during the summer vacations. He records that with what he could earn and with the assistance of his father and sister he could scrape together only about two dollars a week for his necessities at the college—a rather small sum for such a case, yet small as it was, it sufficed. He did not remain at that university to complete the course. In the latter part of 1870 he became involved in an altercation with a fellow-student over a trivial matter. A fight resulted, and in the fight Clark got hold of an old revolver and shot at his

antagonist. The shot went wild. So did the faculty, for they expelled him. He went home and taught school. Some two years afterward the faculty sent him a written invitation to return. This the young man indignantly declined. Instead he went to Bethany College, in Pennsylvania, and was graduated in 1873. He was at once tendered the position as president of Marshall College, in West Virginia, which he gladly accepted. He was then but twenty-three years of age. Doubtless he was the youngest college president in the country.

He tells an amusing story about how he was so fortunate as to obtain this presidency, with its salary of twelve hundred dollars per annum. His standing at Bethany had received some newspaper notoriety, which attracted the attention of one of the trustees of Marshall College, who asked Clark to make application for the vacancy. He concluded his application with these words: "I am a native of Kentucky, over six feet in height, weigh one hundred and seventy-four pounds; have just graduated at Bethany College with highest honors; am a Democrat in politics, a Cambellite in religion, and a Master Mason."

At the end of his first year he resigned the presidency and entered the Cincinnati Law School. There he graduated at the head of his class. Completing his law course, the next thing was to select a place where he could put his lately acquired knowledge to use in paving the way to that congressional seat he still kept in mind. He had as a fellow-student a young man from Kansas, who had been a practicing attorney, and was at college only to add to his knowledge. This fellow-student offered to divide his practice with him if he would go to Fredonia, Kansas. On his way to Fredonia he stopped off at Emporio to visit a college friend. That friend convinced him that Wichita was a better place to locate than Fredonia; so to Wichita he went. He did not like Wichita. In fact, he did not like Kansas, so he turned his face eastward. He finally landed at Louisiana, Mo., as a teacher, or, rather, as assistant superintendent of the schools of that place. He bought a newspaper on credit and became an editor. At the end of his first year as editor he resold his paper to the party from whom he had purchased it, and became actively interested in the practice of his profession.

He was quickly successful in securing a fair share of the business. He was, in turn, city attorney for Bowling Green, assistant county attorney for four years, county attorney for the same length of time. He was ardently interested in politics, and in 1888 was elected to the Missouri legislature. He took pride in later years in the fact that as a member of the Legislature he was the author of the law which introduced the Australian ballot system into that State, and of the Missouri Anti-trust Law.

Deeply interested as he was in politics, he did not neglect his profession, and continually added to his reputation as an able and successful attorney. His two years as a member of the State Legislature had widened and extended his acquaintance with the people of the State, and had given him a place among the leaders of his party. In 1890 he sought the party nomination for Congress. He failed of reaching his heart's desire, but came nearer defeating his opponent than it was thought possible when he began his campaign. Two years later he again sought the nomination, with the same opponent as in 1890.

It was a hard struggle, the campaign lasting from March to the last day of August. Such was the feeling that both candidates went armed at all times, expecting that before the contest was over a shooting scrape would occur. In this race Clark was successful and became a member of the Fifty-third Congress on the day that Grover Cleveland was inaugurated President of the United States for the second time. From almost the day of his entrance he took an active part in all the proceedings. He established a reputation as a debater of more than ordinary strength, and as a most industrious worker in committees.

He was a Democrat in politics, and ever stood as the champion of the policies of that party as they were outlined in the platform adopted by the convention. In his service many great matters were before Congress and the country. In the discussion of all those which came before Congress, Mr. Clark took an active interest. He displayed remarkable shrewdness as a party leader in the House, often holding his party back from making political blunders, and at other times taking advantage of the blunders of the other party, so as to increase the prestige of his own party before the people. Mr. Cleveland was President, and there was an almost constant warfare between him and his party in Congress. Silver coinage and the tariff were perplexing questions. Mr. Clark did not always agree with the President on matters of policy, but he was ever a loyal Democrat.

For several sessions he was a member of the great Committee on Ways and Means, and had much to do in leading his co-Democrats on the committee in the right way of party action. He was a frequent speaker, and very skillful in getting his speeches in at a time when they would have the most effect. In his delightful book he gives one instance of how he beat the time limit on one important question. The only time he could get for a set speech was at a Saturday night session, and he did not want to talk to an empty hall. There is a five-minute rule in the House, and Clark determined to take advantage of that rule. He would get the floor and for five minutes discuss one proposition. Getting the floor at another time, he would discuss another part of the pending measure. He kept this up until he had covered the whole question, and then inserted his dozen five-minute speeches in the Congressional Record as one speech.

His broad grasp of public questions, his comprehensive mind, his shrewdness in party management made him a genuine tower of strength to his party, without making enemies in the ranks of the opposition. His shrewdness in management was demonstrated by the way he led the fight against what was unwarrantably called "Cannonism" in the House. By his shrewdness and tact in that fight he accomplished all he expected, for, as he has claimed, it divided the Republican party into factions which resulted in giving the Democrats both House and Senate, and elected Woodrow Wilson President.

Under the rules and custom of the House, the Speaker wielded an almost arbitrary power. He appointed all committees, was himself ex-officio a member of the Committee on Rules, and during debates could recognize only such members as he pleased. Through these means he was almost a dictator as to legislation. This condition had existed from the very first Congress, and was growing more and more intolerable. The Democrats were in the minority in the House, but a number of Republicans were fretting under the operation of these rules. Mr. Clark was a far-seeing politician, and saw that if he could bring about a revision of the rules by the aid of the "insurgent" Republicans, it would eventuate in a decisive split in that party, and one so decisive as to open the way for Democratic success at the polls.

To bring about that coalition with the "insurgents," he addressed himself with all the tact he possessed. The fight was a long and hard one. He had difficulty at times to keep his own party up to the work, and the "insurgents" were not always at hand with their votes. He kept it up, in season and out of season, always looking at the larger result to be won. After days and nights of parliamentary wrangling he secured enough votes among the "insurgent" Republicans to make sure his success. The battle was over; the rules were changed, the Speaker shorn of his power; the Republican party was hopelessly divided. The insurgents, as they were called by the Regulars, the Progressives, as they called themselves, bolted the Republican national ticket named at Chicago and Taft was defeated, and both House and Senate fell into the hands of the Democrats.

It was a great parliamentary fight, one of the greatest in our history. The story in full of how it was conducted is worthy of repeating. It is nowhere better told than by Mr. Clark himself in his charming book. An agreement had been reached with thirty of the insurgent Republicans to vote with the Democrats on a proposed change of the rules taking away much of the power of the Speaker, and regulating in a more specific way the order of business. When this agreement was reached Mr. Clark, with the aid of Mr. Underwood, set about the task of inducing the one hundred and seventy Democrats to support the reform resolutions. The opening skirmish took place at the opening of the special session in 1909. The "reformers" met with a

temporary defeat, twenty-six Republicans voting for the reform, but twenty-three Democrats went over to the old order of things. Of this defeat Mr. Clark says:

The next morning after our defeat all the papers announced, in great, black, flaring headlines, that the rules fight was over, and most of them congratulated Mr. Speaker Cannon and his "Regular Republicans" upon their crushing victory. They condemned the insurgent Republicans without mercy, and jeered at the Democrats with ghoulish glee. Henceforth, so they declared, the demoralized and beaten Democrats would be a negligible quantity, and that "Uncle Joe," like Alexander Selkirk on his desert island, was "monarch of all he surveyed." "His right there was none to dispute."

I will never forget how those headlines looked; but the jubilators reckoned without their host, never dreaming that in precisely one year and four days the men so thoroughly licked March 15, 1909, would achieve a triumph so sweeping that it would not only work a revolution in the rules of the House, but would work a political revolution throughout the land, the first fruits of which would be a Democratic majority in the House of the Sixty-second Congress, which would rend the Republican party in twain and give the Democrats the President, the House, and the Senate March 4, 1913.

It cannot be stated too often that our successful rules fight placed the Democrats in power not only in the House, but in the nation.

The next day, after we were trounced, the "Allies" went about their business as though nothing untoward had happened, pursuing the even tenor of their way, waiting patiently for an opportunity to renew the conflict. It was slow in coming, but it came at last, and in a most unexpected manner.

From the 15th day of March, 1909, to the 7th day of January, 1910, we worked along, trying, whenever there seemed to be any chance, to break through the Republican lines; but they were wary and constantly on guard.

Finally Representative Norris presented a resolution which he claimed was made privileged by the Constitution. The resolution provided a change in the rules depriving the Speaker of his power to name committees. A point of order was raised that the resolution was not privileged. Now again Mr. Clark:

The real purpose was to overthrow and uproot "Cannonism." We all realized the decisive battle was on, none more thoroughly so than Mr. Speaker Cannon, who, fearing that he did not have a majority at his back in the House at that particular time, declined to rule, and carried on a filibuster from the chair for three wearisome days and two more wearisome nights.

I take it for granted that that was the only occasion in the entire history of the House when the Speaker led a filibuster. He was waiting for reinforcements enough to outvote us, for everybody knew two things: First, that when he did rule he would sustain the point of order, thereby holding the Norris resolution not to be privileged; second, that we would appeal from his decision. He could not be forced to rule. He was deferring to get a majority. We were holding on grimly to our majority. He wouldn't rule. We would not let the House adjourn . . .

When the debate closed Mr. Speaker Cannon, in a written opinion, sustained the point of order, holding the Norris resolution to be not privileged, and, therefore, not in order. I promptly appealed from his decision, and just as promptly Mr. Dalzell moved to table my appeal. The roll was called amid breathless, almost painful, silence. We triumphed by a large majority, every Democrat toeing the mark and thirty-odd insurgent Republicans voting with us. . . .

That contest is the finest example in our annals of debate under the five-minute rule, and of our superb capacity for self-government. For three days and nights the battle raged with utmost fury, yet not one word of unparliamentary language was used, except that General Hollingsworth, of Ohio, was wroth because, under a call of the House, a deputy sergeant-at-arms routed him out of a nice downy bed and brought him to the bar of the House in the wee small hours of the morning, when and where he expressed a sulphurous and elaborate opinion of all concerned, very much to the amusement of the other weary and sleepy members.

It must, in ordinary justice, be written down here that Mr. Speaker Cannon, throughout the bitter contest, bore himself with the utmost dignity and decorum, never appearing to better advantage in his life.

Technically speaking, under the rules of the House he ruled correctly on the Norris resolution. The Democrats and insurgents never claimed the contrary, but we boldly and candidly asserted that what we were doing was a revolution in parliamentary procedure for the good of the House and the country. The only way we could accomplish it was to overrule the Speaker—which we did.

It is enough to say that when the Republicans again obtained the power of the House, they made no attempt to revert to the old order, but acted under the rules as changed by the Norris resolution. They are now regarded as the permanent rules. His skillful management of this parliamentary fight made Mr. Clark stronger than ever with his party, and his leadership was never questioned. The Republican Regulars made bitter fight against those of their party who voted for the Norris resolution, denouncing them in such wrathful terms as to drive them permanently in opposition. This bitterness brought about the bolt from the Republican convention in 1912, the organization of the "Progressive party," the nomination of Mr. Roosevelt against Taft, resulting in the victory of the Democrats and the election of Woodrow Wilson as President. Mr. Clark always claimed he saw the future political result if the insurgent Republicans could be held to the work of overthrowing what was called "Cannonism," and it was that belief in the future political results which made him so ardently in favor of changing the rules.

So strong had he become with his party that it was readily acknowledged he would be elected Speaker if the Democrats obtained power in the House. His time came, and he was elected Speaker at the special session of the Sixty-second Congress in April, 1911, and was reelected at the Sixty-third, Sixty-fourth and Sixty-fifth Congresses. It was his boast that he was "the only Democrat living or dead ever unanimously nominated by a Democratic caucus for his first term in the Speakership." On taking the chair on the 4th of April, 1911, Mr. Clark departed very materially from the long-established custom of speechmaking. The custom had been to confine the remarks of a newly-elected Speaker to giving thanks for the honor and to promises of fairness and impartiality. This formal method did not suit Mr. Clark, and he spoke at some length, mapping out what his party ought to do, and what it intended to do. He said:

My Democratic brethren, coupled with the joy of once more seeing a House, a large majority of which is of my own political faith, is a keen sense of our responsibility to our country and our kind. It is an old adage worthy of acceptance that where much is given much is required.

After sixteen years of exclusion from power in the House and fourteen years of exclusion from power in every department of government, we are restored to power in the House of Representatives, and in that alone. We are this day put upon trial, and the duty devolves upon us to demonstrate not so much by fine phrases as by good works that we are worthy of the confidence reposed in us by the voters of the land, and that we are worthy of their wider confidence.

We could not if we would, and we would not if we could, escape this severe test. We will not shirk our duty. We shrink not from the responsibility. That we will prove equal to the emergency in which we find ourselves placed through our own efforts and through our own desires there can be no doubt, and the way to accomplish this is to fulfil with courage, intelligence, and patriotism the promises made before the election in order to win the election.

By discharging our duty thoroughly and well, subordinating personal desires to principle and personal ambition to an exalted love of country, we will not only receive the endorsement of the people, but, what is far better, we will deserve their endorsement. Chief among these promises were:

1. An honest, intelligent revision of the tariff downward in order to give every American citizen an equal chance in the race of life, and to pamper none unduly by special favor or privilege; to reduce the cost of living by eradicating the enormities and cruelties of the present tariff bill, and to raise the necessary revenue to support the Government.

2. The passage of a resolution submitting to the States for ratification a constitutional amendment providing for the election of United States Senators by the popular vote.

3. Such changes in the rules of the House as are necessary for the thorough and intelligent consideration of measures for the public good, several of which changes are accomplished facts. If other changes are deemed wise, they will be promptly made.

I congratulate the House and the country, and particularly do I congratulate the members of the Committee on Ways and Means, upon the success of the important and far-reaching experiment of selecting committees through the instrumentality of a committee, an experiment touching which dire predictions were made and concerning the operation of which grave doubts were entertained, even by some honest reformers.

4. Economy in the public expense, that labor may be lightly burdened. The literal fulfilment of that promise which so nearly affects the comfort and happiness of millions we have begun—and we began at the proper place—by cutting down the running expenses of the House by more than \$188,000 per annum. Economy, like charity, should begin at home. That's where we began. We cannot, with straight faces and clear consciences, reform expenses elsewhere unless we reform them here at the fountainhead.

5. The publication of campaign contributions and disbursements before the election.

6. The admission of both Arizona and New Mexico as States. I violate no confidence in stating that, so far as the House is concerned, they will be speedily admitted together.

These are a few of the things which we promised. We are not only going to fulfil them; we have already begun the great task. What we have done is only an earnest of what we will do. We this day report progress to the American people. The rest will follow.

No man is fit to be a lawgiver for a great people who yields to the demands and solicitations of the few having access to his ear, but is forgetful of that vast multitude who may never hear his voice or look into his face.

I suggest to my fellow-members on both sides of the Big Aisle—which is the line of demarcation betwixt us as political partisans, but not as American citizens or American representatives—that he serves his party best who serves his country best.—From *Harper's Encyclopaedia of United States History*, Vol. II.

In his years in Congress, and of practical leadership of his party in the House, Mr. Clark had added largely to his popularity with his party at large and with the people. Even before he was elected Speaker his name was frequently mentioned when Democratic nominations for the presidency was the topic of conversation. By 1912 he was the best-known man in the country of presidential size in his party, and his friends felt that he would be elevated to that high office. At the primaries he swept everything before him, and he felt sure the great prize was in his grasp.

Among the States giving its vote to Clark in the primaries was Nebraska. Under the rule, Clark having received the majority, it acted as an instruction to the delegates from that State to the convention to vote for Mr. Clark. When the convention met in Baltimore, several names were presented and voted for. Mr. Clark led on every ballot, and for eight or nine ballots had a majority over all the others. This in a convention of any other party would have given the nomination to him, but under the Democratic rule it required two-thirds to nominate.

When Mr. Clark's vote reached a majority, Colonel Bryan, a delegate from Nebraska, and under the instructions of the Democratic voters of his State to vote for Mr. Clark, rose in the convention and, after a speech of some length, declared his intention to violate the instructions of his State and cast his vote for Mr. Wilson. He gave as his excuse for this change a statement that Mr. Clark was receiving the vote of New York, and that the delegates from that State were under the domination of Tammany, and he could not vote for any man favored by the Tammany organization.

It was generally believed by the delegates that the real object of the change was to bring about a deadlock in the convention, in the hope they would then turn and give him the nomination. Whatever was his real object, the convention eventually nominated Mr. Wilson. Mr. Clark issued a statement to the public as follows:

Today, in the National Convention, an outrageous aspersion was cast upon me, and through me upon the Democratic party, by one who of all men ought to be the last to besmirch or betray his friend or his party.

So far as I am personally concerned, it is enough to say that the charge which reflects upon my personal or party integrity is utterly and absolutely false.

I might afford to forget myself, but I am, by the choice of the Democratic majority of the House of Representatives, the ranking official Democrat in national public life.

I cannot be false or corrupt without reflecting upon my party in the most serious way.

Any man who would enter into an alliance with any selfish interests or privileged class of this country to gain the nomination for the presidency is unworthy of the presidency and of the speakership of the House.

If I have not entered into such an alliance, then the Democrat, however distinguished, who wantonly charges me with this act, is traitor to the Democratic party and to his professed friendship for me.

I am not here to plead for a nomination or to attempt to influence any man's political action.

Let every man proceed in this convention according to his convictions and the expressed will of his constituents.

I ask no undue consideration from any man, be he friend or foe, but I demand exact justice from every Democrat, either in this convention or throughout the nation.

With William Jennings Bryan and his charge, made in the convention today, the issue is proof or retraction. I shall expect him to meet the issue.

Mr. Bryan did not furnish the proof, nor did he retract. Of his attitude Mr. Clark, in his book, says: "Did Bryan furnish proof of his false and wicked insinuations? He did not. Did he retract? He did not. An honest, courageous man would have done one or the other. Yet he prowls around, posing as a Christian statesman at so much per pose." The book of Mr. Clark was published during the lifetime of Mr. Bryan, with this severe denunciation, but it brought no response from the Colonel.

Mr. Clark's first term as Speaker of the House was in the last Congress in the administration of President Taft. It was a stormy session, yet Mr. Clark held the members with a tight rein. As he expressed it himself, he did not intend there should be any riotous scenes, and always stopped the angry debaters when they approached the danger line. So strict and firm was his attitude that no member went beyond the line of decorum. He won the admiration and friendship of those who were politically opposed to him.

He was elected to the same exalted position in the Sixty-third, Sixty-fourth, and Sixty-fifth Congresses. The Republicans held a majority in the Sixty-sixth Congress, and, as a matter of course, one of their party was placed in the chair. He served eight years. The World War was fought while he was guiding the House of Representatives. He steadfastly and loyally supported the administration. He failed to reach the high point of his ambition, the presidency, but never lost the love of his party. They recognized in him the lofty ideals of Democracy, without demagoguism. He died just as the Sixty-sixth Congress was closing its official term. His death came like a shock to his colleagues in the House and to the country at large. As he felt the last moment coming he roused himself to send word to his colleagues that the House should not adjourn, as was its custom when one of its members died. Only a day or two remained of the session, and Mr.

Clark knew how those days would be crowded with business, and his thoughts were for the public. No more fitting ending of this short sketch of Mr. Clark can be found than to quote some of the expressions of his colleagues:

Mr. Dickinson, of Missouri: He was the minority leader of his party in this House. He was eight years Speaker of this great representative body. His worthy record as Speaker endeared him to the entire membership of the House, and no man ever served in this House more loved than this big-hearted, red-blooded Missourian. . . . He was a great figure in national politics, a stalwart in his own party. Not a mere politician, he was a statesman of high order. He loved his country, his State, his home, his friends. He was a man of rugged honesty and fearless courage, with a heart as tender as a child's. He was just, he was considerate; he loved the right and hated wrong. He made a good fight in the great battle of life. He loved this House—it was a home to him. His history is mingled with the strong characters with whom he served and battled in earnest debate. His friendships knew no party lines. . . . The name of Champ Clark will rank high with the best and strongest of our great men and live as long as history lives.

Mr. Gillette, of Massachusetts: I remember him as an intellectual gladiator in this House, of splendid physique, fine presence, strong voice, handsome and impressive head, good elocution, and back of that was an intellect, keen and vigorous, stored with the very kind of knowledge most useful in this House. . . . I have served here under five Speakers—Crisp, Reed, Henderson, Cannon, Clark—all men of great ability, men of striking qualities, for all of whom I have great admiration and regard. Yet above them all it seems to me, in an impartial construction of the rules, in the power of setting aside partisanship and standing forth as the judge, Mr. Clark was pre-eminent. He won the admiration, affection, and confidence of both sides of the House.

Mr. Cannon, of Illinois: The succession of events tells the story. Speaker Clark was not an accident. He developed along the lines of American ideals and American opportunities met with responsibility—a splendid type of American statesmanship.

Mr. Johnson, of Kentucky: Not that sort of eloquence that he in his homely Lincoln-like way would have called "highfalutin' stuff"; not that sort that undertakes to inflame a rabble; not that sort that endeavors to lull into dangerous inactivity did he ever employ; but, instead, he used that sort of speech that Heaven approves and to which men respond. By that unpretentious but effective way which was his alone I have witnessed big men, entertaining opposite views, yield to the power of his mind and his unique expression of thought.

Mr. Mann, of Illinois: I loved the man. We were on opposite sides of the House. We never had extra-close personal relations, but in all

the touch and contests of bitter fights we learned not merely to respect each other, but to love as two brothers might. This House saw him in the days of great parliamentary contests, and no one ever appeared on this floor in a parliamentary fight who was his superior. . . . He left the Speaker's chair with the respect, the admiration, and the affectionate regard of every member of the House, regardless of party.

Mr. Mondell, of Wyoming: Mr. Speaker; Champ Clark was an ideal example of American citizenship, of American statesmanship. He exemplified to the fullest in his life and character the personal and civic virtues which we are pleased to believe reach their most perfect development under the conditions of American life. He not only measured up to the highest and best standards of American ideals, but his virtues were peculiarly American in their manifestation and expression. . . . His friends embraced men of every shade and variety of opinion, for to know him well was to be his friend. However much one might differ with him, his splendid human qualities compelled admiration.

Mr. Rodenberg, of Illinois: Champ Clark was great in the best and truest meaning of the word—great in character, great in ability, great in his conception of public duty, great in his devotion to the public service, and great in his abiding love for humanity. Intellectually honest, always candid, sincere, and straightforward, he abhorred hypocrisy in all its forms. . . . Throughout his long, eventful, and distinguished public career he followed the path of duty outlined clearly and unmistakably by a conscience that was responsive always to the noblest impulses of true manhood. That was his crowning characteristic.

FREDERICK HUNTINGTON GILLETTE

FREDERICK HUNTINGTON GILLETTE—Speaker of the House of Representatives in the Sixty-sixth, Sixty-seventh, and Sixty-eighth Congresses. Born at Westfield, Massachusetts, October 16, 1851. Son of Edward Bates and Lucy Douglas (Fowler) Gillette. Educated at Amherst College. Married, November 25, 1916, Mrs. Charlotte Rice Hoar.

From 1855, when Nathaniel P. Banks, of Massachusetts, presided as Speaker over a riotous, tumultuous House, when revolvers and Bowie knives were in almost daily evidence, and obprobrious epithets made sulphurous the atmosphere in the Chamber, to 1919, when Frederick H. Gillette, another son of the Old Bay State, took charge of the Speaker's gavel over a House as decorous, peaceful, and kindly as a men's Bible class in a modern Sunday school, a period of sixty-four years had elapsed.

They were memorable years, filled with history. A great civil war had been fought to a finish, establishing the Union on a firmer and more enduring foundation than before. From thirty-three semi-inde-

pendent principalities we had been wrought into a nation with a big N. With one hand we had reached out toward the frozen Arctic and gathered in Alaska with its wonderful natural resources. With the other we reached out to the mid-Pacific and raised the Stars and Stripes over Honolulu, and then reaching a little further placed that banner over the Philippines, right on the border of Asia. From a population of fifty million we had increased to more than a hundred million. We had grown so strong and arrogant in our strength that we threw away our old traditions against entangling alliances, and sent three million of our boys over the seas to fight the battles of Europe.

During those threescore years the nation had been called to mourn the death of three Presidents slain by the hand of the assassin. First was the immortal, great-hearted, generous, forgiving Lincoln. Then came the gallant, eloquent and kindly Garfield. Followed the genial, lovable McKinley. We mourned for them when they fell; we mourn for them yet.

There were wonderful victories in science in those threescore years. Electric lights, the phonograph, the application of electricity as a power; wireless telegraphy, the radio, submarine, and airplanes, and the Panama Canal.

When Mr. Banks was Speaker the House consisted of two hundred and thirty-seven members. Under Speaker Gillette there were four hundred and thirty-five. When Mr. Banks was Speaker the country was throbbing under the approaches of a great civil war. When Mr. Gillette assumed that high office the country was just emerging from a war that shook the world. It was the last Congress under the administration of President Wilson. The one great subject under consideration by Congress and by the people was the treaty of peace negotiated at Vincennes. The House was divided in opinion on the subject, but all rejoiced that the war was over.

Mr. Gillette entered the House in the Fifty-third Congress, and was reelected to each succeeding Congress to and including the Sixty-eighth, serving a period of thirty-two years. In six of those years he was Speaker.

Having graduated from the Harvard Law School, he was admitted to practice in 1877. He began the practice in Springfield, and rapidly advanced. He was an ardent Republican and took active interest in political affairs. He possessed by nature, or early acquired, the art of pleasing. His smile was bright and his greetings cordial. Those qualities, combined with his high talents, made him popular with the people. In 1879 he was made Assistant Attorney General of Massachusetts. This broadened his activities and widened his acquaintance in the State.

He served one term in the Massachusetts Legislature and was then sent to Congress. At first he was not a favorite with the newspaper men, as he was not given to granting interviews. He was modest, and made his way by slow steps, advancing in the regard of his colleagues steadily. His worth being manifested, he was given commanding committee assignments, and served long on the great Committee on Appropriations. As a member of that committee during the World War he was of great assistance to President Wilson.

He was not given to frequent speech-making, and rarely spoke at great length. As the years passed along he became one of the leaders of his party in the House, until he was advanced to the position of Floor Leader, and from that to the Speaker's desk. At the time of his election as Speaker he was the oldest member of the House in continuous service.

While Speaker he was elected a member of the Senate and took his seat in that body on the assembling of the Sixty-ninth Congress. The principle question then before Congress was the entry of the United States into the World Court. On that question Senator Gillette made his first speech in that body. An extract or two will show the calm, argumentative style of the Senator. Among other things he said:

Why was it that the United States did not join the League of Nations? It was because we did not wish to become entangled with the political disputes of Europe, and we did not wish to give up any right to independent action. Are those two motives in the slightest affected by joining with other nations in voting for judges of a court, by paying part of the expenses of the court, and by submitting to that court whatever disputes we wish, and absolutely no others? It seems to me preposterous to claim that that was an assumption of obligation on the part of the United States.

Of course, this court does come from the league and is favored by the league. To me that is a matter of entire indifference. I appreciate that in the case of some Senators who were here during the very heated debates upon the league, there is left some personal and political feelings, which are not easy to forget, and which probably have not yet died out. I have no such feelings, however. While I do not want the United States to joint the league, I have the kindest feelings toward it. I regret its failures; I rejoice in its successes. I hope the league will prove, as seems likely, a beneficent factor in the political affairs of Europe and may smooth out international difficulties and act as a clearing house for minor complications until it has won prestige and power sufficient to grapple with the big problems. I hope it may achieve even more successfully for Europe the good will and cooperation that the Pan-American Union is bringing to this hemisphere. I hope we shall cooperate with its good work. Indeed, I hope international cooperation will steadily increase, for with nations, as with men, acquaintance and cooperation is apt to lead to friendliness and good will.

I do not think the World Court was created by the League of Nations. It seems to me the World Court technically was created not by the league, but by the statute; but that again to me is a matter of indifference. I do not care so much for its origin as for its effect. I am not so much interested in its pedigree as in its progeny; and if it will accomplish the results that I wish, then it matters little to me whether it is of American or of league origin, although it gratifies my national pride to know that America has long and steadfastly urged this very proj-



FREDERICK H. GILLETT, Massachusetts
Sixty-sixth, Sixty-seventh and Sixty-eighth Congresses

ect; and it gratifies my personal feelings and increases my confidence in the court to know that one of the most influential agents in the formation of the procedure of the court was that wise, far-sighted statesman, Elihu Root, to whom today is as applicable as to any living man the epigram of Mackintosh—

"A name that would add authority to truth and furnish some excuse even to error."

It is not surprising that Mr. Root has been quoted during this debate by men on both sides. Criticisms he made of the court have been cited. I do not suppose anybody in all the fifty nations that compromised on this court was entirely satisfied with it. I do not suppose there was a statesman who did not feel some criticism of it. But I want to remind you that, despite Mr. Root's strictures, which have been read, yet he believed that the benefits of this court were vastly greater than its defects, and he is heartily and earnestly in favor of the adherence of the United States to the protocol.

* * * * *

I fear that on both sides of this general question there has been much exaggeration. I do not refer to Senators particularly, but in the debate that has been going on in the last three years throughout the country I fear that those who are in favor of the World Court have exaggerated the benefits that are to come from our entrance, and I fear that those who have opposed the World Court have exaggerated the dangers.

We are not going far toward world peace, which is the goal at which we are all aiming, by simply giving our adherence to a court which can only try cases which the parties agree to submit to it. It is obviously but a first step, and but a short step. To be sure, there is in the statute that optional provision allowing nations to agree to compulsory jurisdiction, but it is rather pathetic to note who the nations are that have made this agreement that all their disputes shall be submitted to the court. It is only the weak, the small nations, those which can not defend themselves. It is the fragile china vessels which want a court. The iron pots are not afraid of a collision. The defenseless nations, which have not armed protection against an aggressive neighbor, agree to submit all their disputes to the jurisdiction of the court, but the great powers, confident in their strength, prefer to reserve to themselves the arbitrament of force. It reminds me of the verse:

Laws, we are told by ancient sages,
Have been like cobwebs in all ages.
Cobwebs for little flies are spread,
And laws for little folks are made.

But if an insect of renown,
Hornet or beetle, wasp or drone,
Be caught in quest of sport or plunder,
The flimsy fether flies in sunder.

NICHOLAS LONGWORTH

NICHOLAS LONGWORTH—Speaker of the House of Representatives in the Sixty-ninth and Seventieth Congresses. Born in Cincinnati, Ohio, November 5, 1869. Son of Nicholas and Susan (Walker) Longworth. Educated at Harvard University. Married, February 17, 1906, Miss Alice Roosevelt, daughter of President Theodore Roosevelt.

Nicholas Longworth came from one of the oldest and most distinguished families of Cincinnati. His grandfather was long one of the leading business men of that city, known as the Queen City. Deeply engaged in business affairs the Longworths always took great interest in political matters, especially in those dealing with local questions.

The Speaker received his early education at the famous Franklin School in Cincinnati. Later he went to Harvard, and from that institution was graduated in 1891. Taking the law as his life profession he attended the Harvard Law School one year, and then transferred to the Cincinnati Law School. In school and at college young Longworth was regarded as a diligent student, but not as one of more than ordinary brilliancy. He gave little promise then of achieving the high distinction he won in a very few years after beginning his active life. He was not poor and it was not necessary for him to strive for success at the bar, yet he earned a reputation as an able lawyer.

He gave much of his time to politics, soon reaching a prominent position in the Republican party, the party of his choice. His first office was as a member of the Cincinnati School Board. This was quickly followed by his election as a member of the Ohio House of Representatives. There he was in his element and was recognized as a leader. In 1901 he was sent to the Ohio Senate. He was "a vote-getter," and his ability in that direction led his party in 1902 to nominate him for Congress. He was elected to the Fifty-eighth Congress, and with the exception of one term has been constantly reelected to each succeeding Congress. The one exception was in 1912, when the Republican party was torn to pieces by the contest between former President Roosevelt and President Taft.

In that historic campaign Mr. Roosevelt led what was called the "Progressive" wing of the Republicans, the campaign ending in the election of Woodrow Wilson. Mr. Longworth did not follow his distinguished father-in-law, but held fast to the old party. The progressives ran a candidate for Congress in Longworth's district, dividing the Republican vote, letting a Democrat carry off the honors. Two years later Mr. Longworth was again a candidate, easily winning the election.

In the House he quickly made a place for himself among the leaders of his party—always sure, always reliable. He made a study of parliamentary law, and of the rules and usages of the House, thus pre-

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